The American Colonization Society (1817 - 1840)

by

Early Lee Fox

Microfilm Associates, Ltd.
8840 ORCHARD TREE LANE
BALTIMORE, MD. 21204

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the writer [illegible]

(1) [illegible] Ex. [illegible] 14".

[illegible] "[illegible] that it is an evil - but is entitled upon the present [illegible] of slave-holders, which [illegible] suffers, whether they will be [illegible] it: and therefore the North should all the [illegible] of examination and [illegible] their slaves back on the land [illegible] their fathers."(6) [illegible] Gillespie, of Ky., called attention to the fact that "New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio [illegible] slave trade would have been Pastoral [illegible] "to the full extent of unobtrusive enjoyment. *** [illegible] to deal with the slave trade, for the simple of the South, was carried on by Northern ships in the North ***."

"Slavery is our [illegible] acknowledged, in this [illegible], to be an enormous evil. *** costly to the proprietor, *** a source of increasing domestic danger; an insult to the genius of our religion and an outrage on the majesty of Heaven. This language is not stronger than that which [illegible] in the Convention of Virginia. It is not the proper question to discuss the rights of the entire and [illegible] of slavery; it is enough that it is, at present, [illegible] will we take care to [illegible] with [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] language with which the Orinda of Gil [illegible] and [illegible] certain [illegible] opinions, assailed [illegible]. *** Should their [illegible] fall, though the [illegible] opposition of [illegible] the latter will have [illegible] to [illegible] itself, and [illegible] in this country, [illegible] the [illegible]."(8)

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(6) [illegible] - [illegible].
(8) Ibid: [illegible] 1-[illegible].

The attitude of the mass of the people and the politicians of some slavery began to be distinct and important in mass from colonial times to the beginning of the Civil War. The period from the beginning of the close of the eighteenth century may be considered approximately the period of the first class, when the colonies sought from the king relief from the alarming growth of the slave system. Of this period, it may be said that the single colony of Virginia passed twenty-three acts whose object was the suppression of the evils of slavery. All these came to naught as the result of the royal veto. (4) The third period extended from 1787 or 1840 to the beginning of the Civil War. This was the period during which the South was definitely and openly set on the continuance of the slave system. It was the period between the years 1800, and particularly between 1815, and 1861 or 1840, that claims special attention in this study. In this the first period the evils were clearly anticipated and the system called forth protests; in the last period the evils of Southerners were blurred as a result of a supposed economic self interest, and repentance at the course of radical abolitionists; during the middle period slavery was looked upon by leaders of thought in the South and in the North as one of the great national problems that pressed for a solution. The American Colonization Society unquestionably came into being as a result of this point of view. The man who was to be considered its founder recognized in both the free negro and the slave a dangerous problem and the aim of Colonizationists was to find a satisfactory solution of it. The aim of the writer is to present in a fair and fully

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(4) cf. Report, 1808: 170-73.

the nature of [illegible].

[illegible] Carolina and Georgia, and a large number of Negroes, [illegible] with outrages in the [illegible] rebellion. The [illegible] Southwestern States [illegible] the Union. It was the great [illegible] strategic [illegible], and [illegible] the North, to, and [illegible], with Dumfries, at the South, and from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. Perhaps, that was [illegible] to understand fully the magnitude of that crisis; yet, throughout the risk which were of the [illegible] century, the evils of slavery were [illegible] in calling every [illegible] in the Union.

Then, why did not the slaveholding States [illegible] the slaves? Because they did not know; because the [illegible] of slavery was the greatest evil [illegible] called to face; because no one had suggested a plan that seemed capable of execution. As late as 1832, J. T. Harrison, of Virginia, upon who had marshaled a great deal in his State and who spoke with authority, declared: "Almost all agree in Virginia assent to the proposition, that when the slaves are [illegible] of direct danger to themselves, and in their own estimation, it ought to be done."(6)

As early as 1832, Mr. William Harrison, A. [illegible] and distinguished [illegible], [illegible] "[illegible] for the situation of the negroes as of slaves. It is a disease entailed on the South by those who did not [illegible] the laws of humanity, and who [illegible] on laws [illegible] [illegible] evaluation [illegible]."(6) and [illegible], he later

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(5) Ref. Ranck, 1904: 105.
(6) Hon. William Harrison, M.D., letter to a friend, 1824.

[illegible] abolitionist, [illegible], in 18[illegible]: "I am [illegible] far from reproaching our slave[illegible] with the condition [illegible] in which they stand towards [illegible] their hapless fellow creatures. It is not the fault of most of the[illegible] slaveholders. [illegible] were born in that relation. Many of the[illegible] [illegible] slaveholders [illegible] part of their inheritance."(7) President Nott, of Union College, N.Y., in 18[illegible]: "The Institution of the [illegible], here the sympathies, [illegible] moral sentiments, [illegible] of liberty [illegible]. To them, [illegible], slavery is felt to be an evil, a hindrance to their prosperity, and a blot upon their character. But it was in them when they were born and has been forced upon them by a previous generation."(8) In 1827, [illegible] reported for a committee of the House of Representatives, in reply to memorials of the Friends of Colonization: "In many States the [ ] total number [of slaves] was, as it still continues to be, so great, that universal or general emancipation could not take place, without endangering a convulsion fatal to the peace of society. ** Nowhere in America ** has emancipation elevated the colored race to perfect equality with the [illegible]; and, in many States the disparity is so great that it may be questioned whether the condition of the slave, while protected by his master, [illegible] in itself, is not preferable to that of the free negro", and yet, even in those States, "the principle of voluntary emancipation has operated to a much greater extent than the laws [illegible], or the principle of coercion upon the master has ever done, even among those of us who [illegible] from the speedy and universal extension of human liberty."(9) In a letter received from a gentleman in [illegible] by the [illegible]

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(7) [illegible] Letters to [illegible], Geo. [illegible] Smith to [illegible]. [illegible] 17, 1[illegible].
(8) Af. [illegible] 277-78.
(9) House Report [illegible] Cong., [illegible] Sess. [illegible]-14.

[illegible]

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(10) [illegible] 11-12.
(11) [illegible] 22-23.
(12) [illegible] 23-24.

[illegible]

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(14) [illegible]

(15) [illegible]

ding

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(16) [illegible]
(17) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] tune of practical [illegible] brother [illegible] place of [illegible] rather [illegible] is not that he should [illegible]es." [illegible] significant statements in [illegible] plainly [illegible] intention is [illegible] [illegible] ing her in [illegible] of [illegible]'s. This [illegible], but [illegible], [illegible] they will not [illegible] in peace while the countenance of the [illegible] faithful and [illegible] servants [illegible] that I [illegible] minister. [illegible] my [illegible] wife, all [illegible], when I [illegible] his wife." [illegible]

[illegible] Letters to [illegible]

[illegible] Letters to [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

[illegible] appeared in [illegible] African Colonization [illegible], p. [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] [slaver] [illegible] will, [illegible] agricultural [illegible], [illegible] like [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible] will [illegible] of a question, [illegible] the Southern [illegible] country would, in a few years, [illegible] with [illegible], [illegible] it is now with tobacco."(30) [illegible], for many years President of [illegible] Colonization [illegible], declared: "[illegible] white labour [illegible] three [illegible] all the year, and [illegible] at [illegible], for less than [illegible] of thirteen [illegible] (includ- [illegible] service of children), all [illegible] This is coming [illegible], and will [illegible] the present state of [illegible] in [illegible] lation, before many years, in all those states [illegible] cul- tivate rice and cotton --- [illegible] are labouring to build up [Liberia]-- cotton and rice cultivated by free labour in Africa, [illegible] calculations, to undersell the cotton and rice cultivated by slave labour to [illegible]; when this is the case case, Carolina [illegible] [illegible]rs, or, Carolina and [illegible], will [illegible] [illegible] but it will [illegible] in the [illegible] the patient."(31) In the [illegible], [illegible] pointed out the fact that, in [illegible], [illegible] while in [illegible] the [illegible]

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(30) Cf. [illegible] 43-44.

(31) [illegible] Letter [illegible]

[illegible]

Virginia, [illegible] 1817, [illegible]

[illegible] in [illegible]

[illegible] smaller and smaller, [illegible] would [illegible] rearing of negro children [illegible] slaves [illegible]

[illegible] of the American Colonization Society [illegible] Virginia, [illegible] slaves [illegible] Virginia, at least [illegible] spirit of [illegible] could [illegible] is" [illegible]

[[illegible] money [illegible] Society's [illegible] plan."(24) [illegible] in 1834, [illegible] slave [illegible] have [illegible]

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(22) [illegible]
(23) Ibid : [illegible]
(24) [illegible] Letters [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] infant [illegible] slave-holders --- [illegible], [illegible] reality, [illegible] --- [illegible] Liberia --- [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Then [illegible], very rare, slaveholders, [illegible], [illegible] would [illegible] relin[illegible] all their slave property to Liberia, could [illegible] of equipment and settle [illegible] of [illegible] emancipated slaves."(35)

The [illegible] of insurrection [illegible] 1791 the slaves of Hayti revolted. For a time the island was without a civil government; and when in 1801, there was an emergence of order, it was in the form of a negro government. In 1800, [illegible], Gabriel [illegible] of Henrico County, Virginia, planned an insurrection. In 1[illegible], Denmark Vesey, of Charleston, [illegible] plot.(36) In August, 1831, the [illegible] South was [illegible] by the [illegible] insurrection. [illegible], of that year, William [illegible], [illegible] "[illegible] is not [illegible] to [illegible] of Colonization in Virginia at this time. The predictions of Mr. [illegible] are now becoming true; the whites are [illegible] the masters fear the slaves, in lower Virginia, [illegible] insurrection." "I [illegible] gentleman [illegible] willing [illegible] will [illegible] nothing."(37)

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(35) [illegible]
(36) Hart: Slavery and Abolition: 157; 1[illegible].
(37) [illegible] Letters to A.C.S. [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible] of the [illegible], [illegible] I[illegible] [illegible], while [illegible] very large, [illegible] at large [illegible], [illegible] he re[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible], and [illegible] of [illegible] their [illegible].

[illegible] voluntarily [illegible], (in [illegible] of [illegible] colonization,) [illegible] the majority [illegible] a [illegible] feeling the liveliest interest in that part of the [illegible] which [illegible] providence among us, as well as in the general welfare [illegible], [illegible] will [illegible] be [illegible], [illegible] highly culpable in [illegible], [illegible] of this subject," "The [illegible] gossip [illegible] and ladies [illegible] from every part of the state, [illegible] the black [illegible]. The friends of Colonization, ([illegible] almost said, [illegible] colonization) [illegible] now find willing and anxious [illegible], [illegible] practicable extent their [illegible]." The following January [illegible]: "The committee [illegible] the subject of the [illegible] people of colour was organized [illegible], and [illegible] of the [illegible]. Upon one point there is no difference of opinion [illegible] expediency of providing [illegible] for the removal of the free people of colour, and [illegible] voluntarily remain. [illegible] in their accumulation [illegible] from [illegible] of the state [illegible] are for going [illegible], and [illegible] in a system of gradual [illegible]. [illegible] are certainly [illegible] to [illegible] colonization, [illegible] carry through the first [illegible] difference [illegible] ed, from 100,000 to [illegible]."(22)

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(22) [illegible] Letters to [illegible], [illegible] 1

[illegible]

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(1) [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], in 1[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] all [illegible], for [illegible], nutrition, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] people."(51) [illegible], [illegible] in the state of [illegible], said: " [illegible] [illegible] --- I have no doubt [illegible] [illegible] in the state. [illegible] [illegible] --- [illegible], [illegible] doubt it would be [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] all gentlemanly and [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] for colonization, [illegible] [illegible] [[illegible]]." "[illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of appeals."(52) [illegible], [illegible] in a resolution [illegible] [illegible]: "In those [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] colour, [illegible] objects [illegible] [illegible] inquiry, [illegible]."(53) [illegible]

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(50) [illegible] II: [illegible]
(51) [illegible] Letters [illegible]
(52) [illegible] Letters [illegible]
(53) [illegible] VI; 144-4[illegible].

[illegible]

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(34) [illegible], [illegible]: [illegible]-74.

(35) [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]

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(20) [illegible]
(21) [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
[illegible]
[illegible], [illegible].

"Resolved, That [illegible] [illegible] of colour in Britain [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]."([illegible])

This is a [illegible] fact, [illegible], that [illegible] legislature [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible].

[illegible], in explanation of this fact, [illegible] that the real motive behind [illegible] object [illegible] desire of pro-slavery men to "[illegible]" the price of slaves [illegible] [illegible]ucing [illegible] the [illegible] of free-negroes, [illegible] fear, [illegible] the slaves [illegible], that an increasing [illegible] [illegible] of their slaves [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] full [illegible], of [illegible] crime, of social and political in[illegible] [illegible] influence of, [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] opinion.

Of this [illegible]:
"[illegible] United States [illegible] in the [illegible] of the [illegible] in which the [illegible], we have [illegible]

([illegible]) [illegible].

nority, [illegible]

[illegible] which [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]." [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] very has [illegible],

[illegible]

against [illegible] inferiority [illegible]

to the [illegible],

[illegible] veg-

tails [illegible]."

"[illegible], [illegible] still [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] consent [illegible] its

[illegible] legislation [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] it is, [illegible], that [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible]

[illegible]."(39)

[illegible] an [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible],

[illegible], [illegible]

priet[illegible].(40) [illegible] Tr[illegible], [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] "[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible]

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(39) De Tocqueville : Democracy in America. [illegible] 4. [illegible].
(40) [illegible].

[illegible]

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(41) [illegible]
(42) [illegible]
(43) [illegible]
(44) [illegible]

had

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(45) [illegible]
(46) [illegible]

(4a) [illegible]

(4b) [illegible]

X

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(34) [illegible]
(35) [illegible]

[illegible]

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(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible]

[illegible]

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(1) [illegible]

(2) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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(23) [illegible]
(24) [illegible]
(25) [illegible]
(26) [illegible]

[illegible] led, [illegible] commin[illegible] lands.

In 17[illegible] Jefferson [illegible], [illegible], at the [illegible], [illegible] X [illegible](**)

The[illegible] ar[illegible] that [illegible] 1[illegible], [illegible] William Thornton [illegible] in [illegible] corresponde[illegible] with [illegible], a[illegible], [illegible] 6 [illegible]. In [illegible] letter "[illegible]" [illegible], he wrote: "[illegible] already [illegible]. The [illegible] Blacks of this country [illegible] original[illegible], and [illegible], Providence [illegible] Africa, [illegible] and inclined to settle there."(***) [illegible] American Col[illegible] Society, [illegible],

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(*) I[illegible] S [illegible]-4.
(**) [illegible] --- [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible].
(***) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] enter [illegible]

(*4) [illegible]

(**) [illegible]

[ ]

Consideration

[illegible] OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

As a result of the efforts of the Reverends [illegible], Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, and Dr. R. R. Gurley, of Washington, a meeting was held in the city, December 18, 1816. The general purpose was the discussion of the colonization scheme. Bushrod Washington presided and among the speakers were Henry Clay and John Randolph of Roanoke. Five days later a second meeting was held, presided over by Clay. Among resolutions adopted, the following is of interest:

> "The situation of the free people of colour in the United States has been the subject of anxious solicitude, with many of our most distinguished citizens, from the first existence of our country as an independent nation; but the great difficulty and embarrassment attending the establishment of an infant nation then first struggling into existence, and the subsequent great convulsions of Europe, have hitherto prevented any public national effort to provide a remedy for the evils existing or apprehended. The present period seems peculiarly auspicious to invite attention to this important subject, and gives a well grounded hope of success. The nations of Europe are hushed into peace; Unremitting efforts are making in various parts of the world, to diffuse knowledge, civilization, and the influence of the Christian religion. ********Desirous of adding in the great cause of philanthropy, and of promoting the prosperity and happiness of our country, it is resolved by this meeting, to form an association or society for the purpose of giving aid and assisting in the colonization of the free people of colour in the United States."(1)

R. R. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Gen. Walter Jones, Francis Scott Key, Robert Wright, Jas. H. Blake, and John Peter were appointed to present a memorial to Congress, requesting federal aid in procuring territory in Africa or elsewhere, for the carrying out of their design. Key, Washington, Caldwell, James Dr[illegible]ge, Gen. Walter Jones, Rush, and R. G. D. Worthington were appointed to prepare a constitution and rules.

At a third meeting, December 28, there was adopted a constitution, in which the sole object of the organization was stated to be "to

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(1) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of A. C. S. I; I-3.

[illegible] and the [illegible] for any (not [illegible]) the free people of color residing in the country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most convenient. And the Society shall act to effect this object, in cooperation with the General Government, and such of the state as may adopt regulations upon this subject. "(2) A President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Recorder were to be chosen. A Board of Managers, composed of these officers and twelve other members of the Society, was to constitute the central organization. Societies organized in the United States, working with the same object as that of the Parent Society, and contributing to the funds of the central treasury, were to be considered auxiliary to it.

A great deal has been written regarding the political motives of those who in its early days controlled the Society. Yet, even during that bitter decade, from 1830 to 1840, "The Liberator" admitted, many times, the sincerity of motive and the nobility of design of those whose motive interest brought the Colonization Society into being. The quarrel was not brought about, it was said, because the movement had been dragged out of the miry clay; it was rather because it had shot itself down from the height on which it was born. It will, therefore, be safe to assume that those leaders who have left behind them a record of the motives of both themselves and their coadjutors, have spoken from their hearts.

No more credible witnesses could be found, to support, respectively, the northern and southern portions of the middle

(2) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 4-9.

Atlantic States, than [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, [illegible], [illegible] with the [illegible] of slavery, [illegible] the [illegible] point of view of the welfare of the race in [illegible]. Fitzhugh, a [illegible] example of an influential Virginia slaveholder, [illegible] owner of three hundred slaves who were by his will emancipated and offered a [illegible] inducements if they would consent to go to Liberia, beautifully and sincerely supposes human slavery, and with others, [illegible] that one's [illegible] or [illegible] can not be relieved [illegible] by [illegible] left as to the victims by a member of the health board. The South, to him and to others, was further another Prometheus Bound, waiting for a deliverer in the thirteenth generation. He said that the abolition of slavery, if it was to come peacefully, must come gradually; that unconditional and immediate abolition must be accompanied by a national unheard and a radical re-adjustment.

Of Hinley's motive, he himself wrote in 1815:

> "The longer I live to see the wickedness of man, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patient labor to execute, laws which shall free the world. On this subject, the states of the [illegible] have very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness also, as appears to me. Everything connected with their condition, including their lot, is painful then; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be materially ameliorated, while they continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony in some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devoting for that the sums of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?" (3)

Fitzhugh wrote, in 1846:

> "Our design was, by providing an asylum in the West Indies, and furnishing the necessary facilities for removal to the people of colour, to induce the voluntary emigration of that portion of the black race, and to thereby open to individuals and the States a wider door for the voluntary and legal emancipation of the South, [illegible] and [illegible], and [illegible] North

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(3) North American Review Vol. 35: 116.

of the country, right to [illegible]. But [illegible] hope, founded on the knowledge of the [illegible] the feelings of the south, that the operation, [illegible] conducted, would, in the end, [illegible] of domestic slavery, without a single violation of individual wishes or individual rights." (4)

Reverend William Meade, later bishop of Virginia, who was the first agent of the Society, and to whom slavery was an "accursed evil", said in 1818, that in addition to the purpose of the leaders in the colonization movement, as stated in the constitution, the society

> "It was to show to the pious and benevolent how and where they may accomplish a wish near and dear to many heart, which is now impossible; it hopes to point out to our never failing friends, and even to the august council of this nation, a way by which, with safety and advantage, they may henceforth encourage and facilitate that system of emancipation which they have almost forbidden." (5)

As early as 1819 such formidable opposition had reared its head, from extremists of both the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery parties, that the managers of the Society officially denied that their design was either "to rivet the chains of servitude" upon the negroes of the south, or "to invade the rights of private property, secured by the constitution and laws of the several slave-holding States". (6) Indeed, it is a significant fact, and worthy of note at this point, that during the whole period from 1816 to the issuance, by Abraham Lincoln, of the Proclamation of Emancipation, the bitterest opponent Colonization had were those strange bedfellows--- Maryland and South Carolina.

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(4) Af. Regos. II; 154-56.
(5) Af. Regos. I; 147-50.
(6) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 6 -74.

If the opposition from New England was not more than that of the Carolinians, it was largely because of the fact that the former was better organized. It is very probably that now, in my question, did Colonization have [illegible] funds as in South Carolina and Georgia. Again and again, and yet again, the Society was called upon to repeat its original denial--- and always with as little effect.

The reason is obvious. Colonization was essentially a middle-state movement, counting among its supporters the moderate men of every part of the Union. The idea that called it forth was a middle-state idea. Extremists of the far north and the far south were unable to enter into its feelings. As is likely to be the case in all compromise movements, extremists on either side magnified possible objections into actually base designs. The whole history of Colonization contains not conclusive evidence that those leaders who actually directed the affairs of the organization, whose they deviated at all from the design of the society, as expressed in its constitution, deviated substantially on the side of emancipation. If those who hesitate to admit the guilt of their designs would go to the trouble to investigate the evidence that remains, they would probably accept the assurance of the Board of Managers, in 1823, that "they have persevered, confident that their motives all one and [illegible] purposed, and trusting their [illegible] to the judgment of the world."(7)

(7) HSS Emigration, Colonization, and Miscellaneous, A. C. S. I; 199-200.

[illegible], though [illegible] [illegible], and women given by individuals for [illegible] in the Colonization [illegible], covered a wide range---- from that of Gerrit Smith, [illegible], while [illegible] of the Colonization Society, "[illegible] abolitionists to the church" (7A) [illegible] of a friend from [illegible], Ohio; "Among the abolitionists [illegible] the floods of abolitionism, I [illegible] [illegible] friends [illegible] the Colonization Society, of abolishing slavery in the [illegible] States, "( ) and to that of the Albany Argus; "It seems to be the middle ground, upon which the several interests throughout the country, in relation to slavery, can [illegible] [illegible] them. It appears, indeed, to be the only feasible [illegible] by which we can remove that stigma, as well as [illegible] [illegible] among us.********gradual emancipation******, [illegible] the advantages of a free government, Africans, in their native land, by their own hands***** is the only rational scheme of relieving them from the bondage of their present condition."(9) Those who desire to consult a pro-slavery collection of letters could not profitably spend their time among the records of the American Colonization Society----- there, of many thousands of letters, probably not a dozen, written prior to 1840, attempted a defense of the principle of slavery.

(7A) MSS Letters to A. C. S. G. Smith to Walter Lowrie, Albany, N. Y. Dec. 31, 1836.
(9) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Geo. Shelton to Gurley. Canton, O. Aug. 2, 1836.
(9) Af. Repos. I; (1825) 89

The organization of the society was completed June 21, 1817, when Judge Bushrod Washington was elected President, and William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; William Phillips, of Massachusetts; Col. Henry Rutgers, of New York; John F. Howard, Samuel Smith, and John C. Herbert, all of Maryland; John Taylor of Caroline, in Virginia; Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Robert Ralston, of Pennsylvania, and Richard Rush, of the same State; General John Mason, of the District of Columbia; and Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, Vice-Presidents. The Rev. John P. K. Henshaw, Secretary; W. G. D. Worthington, Recorder; David English, Treasurer; and Francis Scott Key, Gen. Walter Jones, John Caldwell, Rev. James Laurie, Rev. Stephen P. Balch, Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, James H. Blake, John Peter, Edmund J. Lee, William Thornton, Joseph Huffman, and Elias B. Caldwell constituted the Board of Managers. On the list of first contributors to the efforts of the Society appear the signatures, among others, of Henry Clay, John Randolph of Roanoke, William Thornton, Daniel Webster, William Pinkney, Rufus King, Samuel J. Mills, Richard Stone Lee, John Taylor of Caroline, and Bushrod Washington. (10)

Within a fortnight of the organization of the Society, a memorial was presented to both Houses of Congress, calling attention to the condition and prospects of the free colored population, calling attention to the fact that, in order to safeguard themselves against the dangerous consequences,

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(10) MSS Original List of Subscribers.

[illegible] level [illegible] [illegible] to be that the [illegible] of the evil, by the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] emanciptation [illegible] within the [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] emancipating [illegible] "might [illegible] benevolent [illegible] considerations [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]", and suggested [illegible] [illegible] satisfactory solution of the problem, the [illegible] [illegible] provisions [illegible] for the establishment of such a colony [illegible] the society [illegible] established. The object [illegible] colonizing the [illegible] of Africa [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] movement for sending the United States [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] colonies, dangerous to the peace and safety of the country; [illegible] [illegible] of great benefit [illegible] the elevation of the free negro, who, it was believed, could have a right to his possibilities in the United States; [illegible] being an important instrument in the spread of civilization in Africa; [illegible] [illegible] such [illegible] [illegible] enterprise. Mr. [illegible], for the House Committee on the Slave Trade, reported favorably, urging that the free negro, when colonized, should be sent where he would [illegible] in danger of [illegible] friction with the white [illegible]. Africa was considered the most desirable place for the realization of this object. The committee expressed its belief that the civilized [illegible] should engage and assist to "the [illegible] of the colony." It [illegible] [illegible] that such [illegible] might [illegible], although the colony might be [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] solution, not [illegible] [illegible] that session of Congress, [illegible] recommended, directing that the United States open negotiations with other powers for the

[illegible] law [illegible], and with [illegible] be [illegible] "[illegible] of the [illegible] of color of the [illegible], with their own [illegible], shall be [illegible] which". In case no such arrangement could be made, it was [illegible] that the [illegible] should seek to [illegible] from [illegible] in the other [illegible] guarantee of "[illegible] territory for the formation of such a colony." (11)

In October, a committee was appointed to interview [illegible] President Monroe, who, during the hot [illegible] of his presidency, actively [illegible] with the society. (12) In November, Rev. Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess were appointed the society's first agents to Africa. They were directed to go by way of [illegible] and secure there such information as they could, that would be helpful in the selection of territory favorable to the proposed colony. From there, they were to proceed to the West Coast of Africa, for the purpose of exploration and of ascertaining the best situation for the establishment of such a colony as the society contemplated.

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(11) House Reports 183; 17 Cong. 3 Sess. 208-13. (Kennedy's Report) This is a most valuable document in Colonization and the Slave Trade. By some, it was considered the most important House Report of the session.

(12) MSS Journal Board of Managers A. C. S. October, 1817.

They [illegible] have [illegible] climate, soil, etc., [illegible] of [illegible] they visit, " [illegible] in [illegible] to [illegible] attention [illegible] colonists [illegible] to legislatures."(13

On their return voyage Mills died.

At the annual meeting, January 1, 1818, [illegible] Washington reported a growing interest in every part of the Union, in favor of the Society; also [illegible] subscription from "a small but opulent society of slave-holders in Virginia." Further, it was stated:

> "should it [the Society] lead, as we ardently hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them; and in palliation of which, we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."(14)

During this first year, also, auxiliary societies had been formed in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Virginia, and Ohio. ~~(15)~~ 15)

Already, by 1819, one happy result of the Society's efforts was seen in an act passed by the State of Georgia. It was an act providing for the disposal of slaves illegally imported into the State. Such slaves, if captured, were to be considered the property of the State, and were to be sold at auction, provided that, in case the Colonization Society agreed to transport such

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(13) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Nov. 5, 1817.

(14) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 20-23.

(15) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 23-30.

[illegible] 11
[illegible] in connection with them, [illegible]
to be transferred to the society. (15) [illegible] the beginning
of a campaign against the African slave-trade; and from this
time until that trade had ceased, the society's sentiments would
have been amply justified [illegible] accomplished nothing beyond
its influence against this inhuman traffic. It is believed that
Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce, "the Wilberforce of America", was the first
[illegible] African colonization to begin, in Congress, a
warfare against the African slave trade such as was begun by
no other American. The anti-slave-trade act of 1819 was the
outcome of a special [illegible] of the Colonization Society. (16)

In the annual report of the Board of Managers, 1819, the
efforts of the managers are stated to be directed to "the happiness of the free people of colour and the reduction of the
number of slaves in America." (18)

In January, 1819, a letter from the Colonization Society, was
presented in the [illegible] of [illegible] time. The efforts of the
society in sending out [illegible] were noted, and it
was stated that, although the society [illegible] its aid to philanthropic individuals, [illegible] satisfactorily

(16) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 63-74.

(17) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 86.

(18) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 93-94.

[illegible] it [illegible] complete [illegible] the [illegible] Federal Government. (19) [illegible] that single disposition [illegible] society over [illegible] and need [illegible] in the continued [illegible] Federal [illegible] to appropriate funds for the carrying out of the chief purpose of the society, the transportation and settlement of free [illegible] colonies on the [illegible] coast of Africa. [illegible] after year memorials were presented; year after year [illegible] were referred to committees to which the memorials were referred; and year after year [illegible] refused to make an appropriation. There can be no doubt that in the [illegible] society [illegible], it looked to the Federal Government for aid in its undertaking. (20) This disposition to leave the society to work out its own program and select, at least at [illegible], the funds which the society, was not shared by President Monroe. When the Anti-Slave-Trade Act of 1819 was passed, he construed it liberally and, in [illegible] with the [illegible] of the Colonization Society, sent out Agents of the United States, to select on the west African coast a territory on which recaptured Africans might be landed and cared for by the government. (21) The first material result of this cooperation was the chartering, in 1820, of the Elizabeth, by the government, and her departure from [illegible] with Rev. [illegible]

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(19) House Report 283. 27 Cong., 3 Sess. 227-31.

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(20) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings. [illegible] original Constitution.

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(21) House Report 283. 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 2.

[illegible] Nicholas P. [illegible], [illegible] Agent General [illegible], [illegible] Agent for the Liberia Land Company, and [illegible] eighty-[illegible] negroes. Being [illegible] of disease [illegible], the [illegible] company landed [illegible] these at Bolondi [illegible], by the [illegible] of June, the third [illegible] and twenty-four of the settlers [illegible] died.(22)

As [illegible] to the [illegible] of their [illegible] the settlements it was observed that [illegible] of this [illegible] through which most of the immigrants passed, [illegible] which withstood, [illegible] fully [illegible] the period of acclimatization, [illegible] less resistant and less vigorous among those who arrived during the dry than among those who arrived during the rainy season. But this lesson had to be learned and, although the Philadelphia[illegible] of the Harrisonian type and their apologists have [illegible] in [illegible] the wretchedness of the first negro "[illegible]" [illegible], out of the [illegible], to die of fever, it is [illegible] that if the number of deaths [illegible] the African colonists [illegible] with the number of deaths among the British of [illegible] or Sierra Leone, the comparison is highly favorable to the Liberians and the Colonization Society and this, notwithstanding the fact that the African colonists [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] personal hygiene. (23) They insisted on bathing, when they should have abstained from bathing; they exposed themselves needlessly and carelessly, and, in spite of the most earnest efforts, on the part of the Society and its physicians in the colony, the mortality figures were eagerly used to stir up opposition among the

(22) MSS sketch of the history of Liberia. [Dr. W. J. Ewing, misc.]
(23) Af. Repos. XV, 306.

the new emigrants. In 1831, the [illegible] of [illegible] entered carefully into a consideration of the actual number of deaths, the causes of death, and the possibility of ascertaining and testing the death-rate. A committee appointed for this purpose reported that since 1820, twenty-two expeditions had gone out from the United States to Liberia. On the first eighteen of these, 1487 emigrants had been transported. Of these, 250 had died from diseases of acclimatization---from fever and diseases consequent upon it. The conclusion reached was that the three most fruitful causes of death were, in descending order; (1) the transportation to Africa of persons who had been accustomed to the high or mount inous country in the United States, (2) the settlement of immigrants too close to the coast and in the heart of the malarial district, (3) the arrival of immigrants at the wrong time of the year. While, of those persons who left the high, and non-malarial sections of the United States, one out of every two and one-fourth died; of those who left the malarial sections of the United States, only one out of every twenty-seven died. Of those landed at Monrovia, a settlement in the malarial section, one out of every five died; while, of those landed at Caldwell, further from the coast and having a better elevation, one in every fourteen died. Of those transported to Liberia during the rainy season, one out of every four and one-third died; while, of those transported during the dry season, only one out of every six and two-thirds died. (24)

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(24) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Aug 7, 1832. II; 273-80.

Thereafter, the society used very responsible men within its jurisdiction, sometimes, as for them to be sick, and cut down the death-rate --- and with success. But there can be no doubt that the climate was worse in its effects upon the health of the white men than that of the black. Indeed, every white agent had to set out, from the first expedition until the independence of the Republic of Liberia was declared, to take his life in his hands and knew very well that the odds were practically against not only his health, but his life. Mills, Bacon, Crocker, Dunkson, Andrews, Winns and his wife, Randall, Anderson, Skinner and his wife, Ashmun and his wife, Buchanan --- heroes and heroines these --- and Ashmun and Buchanan the greatest of them. Men and women who, like these, lay down their lives voluntarily upon the altar of service, are not to be charged with selfishness or the desire to perpetuate a system against which they spoke and labored eloquently.

The sending of expeditions and the sustenance of emigrants required funds. The President had gone as far as he could, in keeping with the law of 1819, in cooperation with the Society. By that law, his efforts were confined to the suppression of the slave-trade. No direct appropriation could be secured from Congress. The result was that for many years --- indeed during the whole period covered in this study --- the important sources of revenue were; (1) a national system of agencies, (2) receipts from auxiliary societies, (3) bequests and legacies, (4) state appropriations, (5) a collection taken by ministers, in churches, on the Fourth of July each year.

[illegible] March, 1819, the [illegible] appointed philanthropic agents [illegible] to solicit aid and [illegible] throughout the Union. Among the [illegible] were William [illegible], T. L. Jarvis, William M. Pittsburgh, and [illegible]. But the most important general agent of the society was [illegible] William [illegible]. The origin of the agency is not [illegible]. William M. Gardner, who [illegible] the founding of the society, [illegible] April, 1818, called attention to an advertisement he had [illegible] in the Philadelphia paper. Thirty or forty negroes had been illegally imported into the state, the law of the state required that they should be sold at auction, unless, by a provision already referred to, they should be taken over by the Colonization Society, and transported to Africa. Wilde was at once sent to Georgia to make an effort to save the negroes from slavery.

In May, he reported that the Governor had agreed to postpone the sale and "afforded me an opportunity of seeking among the humane and generous of this southern country, the means of their redemption." (35)

In June he reported that arrangements had been made, by which the negroes were to be turned over to the Society. "Some who had but little idea of the general enterprise, cheerfully offered their willing aid to contribute for the ransoms of these; and a few who intended to have become the purchasers at the sale, expressed a pleasure at the thought of their restoration to Africa, and

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(35) MSS Minutes of the Board of Managers A. S. C. April 7, 1819; May 4, 1819.

[illegible] by visiting [illegible] "Fayetteville." Under the direction of the [illegible] prominent citizens of the state, he has formed there an auxiliary society. At Augusta and Savannah he found [illegible] feeling towards the society. Of the negroes at Charleston he says; "their attendance in the church which we had invited to assist at, (and it was the same, I was told, in all the churches,) was truly grateful to the soul of the Christian. The aisles and other places in the church set apart for them, were filled with young and old, decently dressed and many of them having their prayer books, and joining in all the responses of the church. I must also beg leave to add a general remark concerning the whole southern country, in which I am justified by the repeated assurances of the most pious and benevolent that the condition of the negroes is greatly ameliorated in every respect. As to food, raiment, houses, labor, and correction, there is yearly less and less over which religion and humanity must lament." At Georgetown he [illegible] "eight or ten of the most wealthy and influential, and obtain assurances of their cordial co-operation." At Fayetteville "all the citizens were prepared for co-operation. I had only to go to their houses and take down their names." At Raleigh he found "the same unanimity of sentiment. The supreme court being in session, many of the judges and lawyers were elected from the different parts of the state, who cordially joined in the Society, and testified to the general prevalence of good will to it throughout the State. At [illegible] for founding a constitution, the

high st t l n , authoriti , and [illegible] of th [illegible] present, and unanimously sanctioned the [illegible]." From Raleigh, he went to Chapel Hill, the seat of the State University. [illegible] commence[illegible] time, and ministers, trustees, and other persons of influence [illegible] assembled. "I [illegible] to find the same feeling here, and that a small society had already been formed." For his agency as a whole, he reported six organized, and ten or twelve prospective, societies. He had secured, in the two months time, subscriptions amounting to between seven and eight thousand dollars. He reported that his success in raising funds would have been greater, but for the fact that "the pecuniary distress is, by universal consent, greater than ever was known.***** I have told a hundred times that no other cause but this would elicit anything." Of the general feeling in regard to the Society, he reported "a conviction that unless a great alteration takes place; or I have been misinformed, it will meet with a liberal support." (26)

During the early years of the Society Rev. W. [illegible]ade also undertook a local agency, in his own county in the Valley of Virginia. He secured subscriptions amounting to almost $7000 there, his own near relatives contributing, with himself, $1700. (27)

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(26) MSS minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. for 1819. Report of Meade, June 21, 1819.

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(27) Af. Repos. I; 146-7.

In 1825, William H. Pittsburgh, of Virginia, was appointed to go through the middle Atlantic and New England States in the interests of the Society. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, received an appointment in 1826, as did also Rev. Leonard Bacon, of Connecticut. (28) In 1830, the Managers resolved to appoint a permanent agent for the New England States, "who by express means, the establishment of auxiliary societies, and an attendance upon the Legislatures of these States will awaken a more general and active interest in the object and augment the funds of the Society." Whenever desirable agents could be obtained general agencies were created for the lower Middle States, the upper Middle States, the New England States, the Western States, the Southern States, and the Southwestern States. During the years 1838 to 1845 these agencies were by far the most important source of revenue that the Society had.

Thousands of dollars were annually turned over to the funds of the parent Society by the various state and county Societies. The organization toward which the Society worked, in its earlier years, was; (1) the parent organization, (2) a State auxiliary society in every State of the Union, (3) societies auxiliary to the State societies, in every county of every State. There was a time when the number of auxiliary societies was about one hundred and fifty. (29)

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(28) MSS Board of Managers A. C.S. Dept. I, 1818. I; 852-53.

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(29) For lists of the auxiliaries see the appendices to the annual reports of the American Colonization Society.

Of these, I mention should be made of the Vermont Society, over which the venerable Elijah Paine presided for many years; the Massachusetts Society, among whose for most members were Joseph Tuckey and Simon Greenleaf; the Connecticut Society, with Leonard Bacon, Roger M. Sherman and Silas Andrews; (30) the New York Society, which for a time was favored with the services of Dr. Alexander Proudfit and President Duer of Columbia, and which received liberal support from Benjamin F. Butler and, until about 1835, from the philanthropist, Gerrit Smith; the New Jersey Society, with Judge Halsey a leading spirit; the Young Men's Society of Philadelphia, which at times was almost completely under the dominance of that quaint, quaver, irrepressible Quaker, Elliot Cresson, who, whether at home, or in England, or in Mississippi, or in Vermont, never failed to impress his hearers with his untiring energy, and oftentimes, with his utter disagreement with Garrison as to the method of ridding the land of slavery, although he was as anxious as Garrison to get rid of the whole system; the Maryland Society, that counted among its leaders Hugh Harper, John L. Howard, and J. H. B. Latrobe; the Virginia Society, whose president, in 1853, was John Marshall, and among whose twelve Vice-Presidents were John Tyler, James Madison, James Lyons, Hugh Nelson, William M. Brockenbrough, William Leigh, and Abel P. Upshur; (31)

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(30) Af. Repos. V; 97.

(31) Af. Repos. IX; 14-23.

the Loudoun County (Virginia) society, one of whose presidents was John Marshall; the Petersburg (Virginia) society, in which John Healy, later Bishop in the African Methodist Church, was for years the active member; the societies of Kentucky, Ohio, Louisiana, and Mississippi---- the last two of which, for a few years, exerted an influence that brought about the liberation of hundreds of slaves, that established a settlement at Liberia, in the Liberian country, and counted among their members and leaders, John Kerr, John Scrugh, William Winans, and Lebbeus Buckler. In the year 1824, there were only twenty auxiliary societies; two years later there were forty-six. From this time, the number grew rapidly. (32) By the year 1836, it was, auxiliary societies had been organized in every state and territory in the Union, except Rhode Island, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Michigan. (33)

Another source of revenue was the subscription of large sums by philanthropists throughout the Union. Mercer was one of the earliest contributors of this class. About 1821 he pledged himself to be responsible for the collection of $5000, with which to begin the active operations of the society, he to be personally liable for that amount if he failed to secure it by solicitation. (34)

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(32) Af. Repos. I; 347.

(33) Af. Repos. XIV; 100.

(34) MSS Fragment in R. R. Gurley's handwriting, in which I copied a letter from Mercer.

Gerrit Smith, [illegible] 1835, the friends of the society contributed $100 per [illegible]. The [illegible] known as the Gerrit Smith plan. Of $54000 contributed on this plan, the [illegible] $9000, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio $14000, Maryland and the District of Columbia, $4000; the [illegible] $8000, and the Northwest $1000. (35) [illegible] Pitchlynn, John Pitchlynn, of New Orleans, John H. [illegible] of Virginia, [illegible] Van Rensselaer of New York, C. H. [illegible], of Kentucky, gave $1000 [illegible], Robert [illegible], [illegible] Wharton, of [illegible] and John [illegible] 11, of [illegible], gave $700, each. (36) Gerrit Smith contributed, besides his contribution on the Gerrit Smith plan, $5000, when the society [illegible] had a period of extreme need. (37) Judge Workman, of New Orleans, left, by will, to the society, $10,000. Colonel Putnam, of New York, left $1000. [illegible] Friend [illegible] Virginia left $500, each. (38) Children, of Mississippi, left [illegible] estimated to be about $30,000. (39)

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(35) LXX "Life Members."

(36) LXX Letter to A. C. S. [illegible] to Amer. A. C. S. [illegible], Ga. June 9, 1833. Af. Repos. IX; 364.

(37) Af. Repos. IX; 364.

(38) Af. Repos. VIII; 360.

(39) LXX Letter to A. C. S. Conley to P. M. Field. July 16, 1834.

June, Madison left $2000 and also the [illegible] of [illegible] lot. (40) [illegible] also [illegible] this gift, of [illegible] gave $ 2,000. in 1848. (41)

[illegible] Colonization Society, in 1831, [illegible] in large [illegible] to the plan [illegible], the Maryland Legislature provided for an appropriation totaling $200,000 --- payable in installments, each year, though, [illegible] of the independent action of the Maryland Society, the parent organization was deprived of this source of revenue. (42) At about the same time, the Virginia Legislature made an appropriation, of $90,000, though cast in restrictions as to its application making it almost useless for the purposes of the society. (43)

In 1850, the Legislature of the same state appropriated $30,000, per year, for five years, on condition that the negroes for whose transportation the fund was to provide were free at the time of the passage of the act, were residents of Virginia, and had already been transported when application was made for the payment of the amount appropriated for such transportation. (44)

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(40) Cf. Rogers. XIII; 237.

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(41) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Tracy to McLean, Potter, Sept. 5, 1848.

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(42) Cf. Rogers. VIII, 61.

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(43) Letters of A. C. S. F. Wright (Office Sec. Treas. A. C. S.) to Dr. Cummings. Vol. 3; (1840) p. 278. Aug. 17, 1840.

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(44) Journal Ex. Com. A. C. S. 1848-54. March 14, 1850. P. 180-81.

In addition to [illegible] John [illegible] Phillips, left to the society $15 000 annuity (45); and David [illegible], of Kirkland, left to it $45 000.(46)

The fifth source of revenue, and it is much more than a mere source of revenue, is the annual fourth of July collection taken up in churches in almost every part of the Union. In the [illegible], when a most important new light has been thrown upon the forces that have operated in the [illegible] of history; when, particularly in the study of that generation from 1830 to 1860, a time pregnant with problems and with possibilities, and with historical interpretations, the economic interpretation is a fascinating interest, it has become habitual with students of history to speak and write in terms of cotton production, the cotton gin, the expanding southwest, and so on. There is very much truth in this, from the point of view of the South. But, from the point of view of the North, the [illegible] from 1835 to 1843 was the battle ground between public opinion, societies, and that opinion moulded by the active and lay ministry, meaning by the lay ministry that body of educational and philanthropic men who, from doctrine rather or counting [illegible] cooperated with the Christian ministry in forming a distinctly church sentiment. At the beginning of that decade the ministry was leading public sentiment; at the end of it public sentiment was leading the ministry. This is altogether obvious from the correspondence preserved by the Society.

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(45) MSS Journal Board of Directors A. C. S. Vol. 4; Jan. 13, 1851. P. 90-91.

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(46) MSS Journal Board of Directors A. C. S. Vol. 4; 171.

[illegible] in 1817, [illegible] Colored [illegible]; [illegible] Colonization, [illegible] F[illegible] the Washington [illegible] [illegible] W[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 1817 [illegible] 1830, [illegible] Colored [illegible] Friends, [illegible] North Carolina, [illegible] very liberally [illegible] 1816, they [illegible] $800.00 (47) [illegible] 1817, [illegible] contributed [illegible] amount. (48) [illegible] 1813 and 1830, [illegible] Columbus, [illegible] Louisville, [illegible] and contributions. (49)

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(47) [illegible] 30, 1818.

(48) Af. Repos. II; 351; [illegible] 1817.

(49) Af. Repos. II; 358; [illegible]

[illegible] In 1810, the [illegible] Place-Fr[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible], the [illegible], and the [illegible] of the [illegible], [illegible] Tennessee, [illegible] Virginia; five [illegible], the District of Columbia, [illegible]; and five from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts. (30) Of the funds received by the Society by the time the Elizabeth sailed for Africa, out of a total of $11,031.10, the United States had contributed $2664.27, the District of Columbia and Maryland had contributed $8460.88, and the United States Navy of the Under State had contributed $900.15. (31) As these are already believed that the Society was an organization gotten up by slaveholders for the purpose of getting rid of the free negro, and thereby increasing the value of the slaves that they retained to all South and South, have taken the trouble to think over these figures, they would have seen that Virginia, the State, where all others, to which the fries might have been expected to apply, was sending in contributions than [illegible] that came from the [illegible] in which slavery had already been abolished; and that the movement was a national, not a sectional one, although its vital energy undoubtedly came from the Middle-Atlantic section.

(30) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 118-119.

(31) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 150-151.

[illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] carefully into the [illegible] of the [illegible], of their scheme. They [illegible] the "[illegible]" of the [illegible] against colonization [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] colony [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] receive [illegible] [illegible], on the [illegible] society [illegible], all the free negroes from the United States. They [illegible] that the colony could not receive, in any [illegible], more immigrants than could be provided [illegible] by the annual surplus revenue of the colony, including [illegible] donations. They doubted whether the society, unaided by the resources of the State or Federal Government, could transport the annual increase in the free negro population, about 5000. But with such government aid, they made [illegible] of the success of their undertaking. At any rate, they said, whether [illegible] complete or only partial success, the movement could not but have the most salutary results. Further;

> "Although it is believed, and is, indeed, too obvious to require proof, that the colonization of the free people of colour, [illegible] would tend to conciliate Africa; to delight the slave-trade; [illegible] to secure their own happiness; but to [illegible] that, also, of the other classes of society, the proprietors and their slaves, [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] abolition of slavery, in a manner inconsistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be [illegible]." (52)

If Ohio, with one crop only [illegible], could add on an average 16 000 a year to her population, could not the west coast of Africa, with two crops, and a perpetual summer, sustain an average immigration of 5000 from the United States?

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(52) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings [illegible] S. I; 106-7.

Indeed, ought it [illegible] that the [illegible] of the annual increase [illegible] population of the United States, free and slave, which amounted to 40 000? [illegible] the government would receive cordial support, but an American and African interchange of useful articles would take the place of trade in human beings, and "new forms of government, modelled after those which constitute the pride and boast of America, will attest the extent of their obligations to their fathers and sires, and apostles of freedom, while the coasts of the Margin of the Gambia, the Senegal, the Congo, and the Niger, will sing, in the language which records the constitution, laws, and history of America, hymns of praise to God on the [illegible]ment of man." (53)

But the [illegible] were disturbed, and it was a [illegible] day, among the [illegible] when, in October, 1842, the discussed the prospects for colonization in the light of the distressing news that had [illegible] of the large number of deaths among the emigrants by the climate. If there was [illegible] much likelihood that these conditions would continue, they had no doubt that their efforts on the west coast of Africa ought to be given up without delay. But the experiment had not been made under favorable conditions. The vessel had landed during the unhealthful, rainy season. The landing and settlement had been made at an undesirable location. Fever had contracted on the vessel during the voyage.

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(53) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 107-15.

[illegible], th[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. The decision [illegible] that they [illegible] continue the experiment. (54)

Nothing daunted, therefore, [illegible] the first expedition, the United States Government chartered the Nautilus, and she sailed from Norfolk early in 1821.; and toward the latter part of March, the [illegible], the U. S. schooner Augusta sailed. In the Nautilus went about thirty emigrants, who, with a number of those who had been transported in the Elizabeth, were received into Sierra Leone. With these two expeditions went Messrs. Andrus, Winn, Bacon, Wiltberger, and Mrs. Winn, agents for the Government and the Society. By the beginning of autumn, Andrus, Mr. and Mrs. Winn had died. (55)

Late in 1821, Dr. Eli Ayres, as principal agent for the Society, arrived at Sierra Leone, and [illegible] Lt. R. F. Stockton arrived in the U. S. schooner Alligator. December 11, Ayres and Stockton anchored off Cape Mesurado, or Montserado, and in exchange for gunpowder, tobacco, muskets, iron pots, beads, looking-glasses, pipes, cotton, etc., obtained a title deed to

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(54) MSS Journal [illegible] of [illegible]. October 1[illegible], 1820. Also MSS Origin, Gen., and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 131-49.

(55) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia [Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel.] AF. Repos. I; 3-4. MSS Origin, Constitution, [illegible] A. C. S. I; 138-94.

a value [illegible] which [illegible] the nucleus of what is now the Republic of Liberia. (56) It [illegible] ceded either to the United States Government or to the Colonization Society. It was ceded to Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayres "to have and to hold the said premises for the use of these said [American] citizens of America." (57) The territory was in trust, and was from the first so considered by the managers of the Society. From the first, they looked to the time when the colony they should plant would become an independent nation, a model republic for the African to admire and, perhaps, to adopt. Ayres then returned to Sierra Leone and prepared to plant the emigrants on the newly ceded territory. By April, 1822, this had been done.(58) At the beginning of summer Dr. Ayres left Africa for America, and put one of the colonists, Elijah Johnson, in charge of the settlement.

In August, of this year, the brig Strong arrived, from Baltimore, with immigrants, a cargo of provisions, and Jehudi Ashmun, a name that must ever rank first in importance, among the early white men who went to Africa to help establish the Society's colony. An insubordination on the part of the colonists who had settled at Montserado, arising from a wrong interpretation of some of the acts of the native tribes, and the inability of the

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(56) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia. [Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel].

(57) Half-Century Memorial A. C. S. 1867. p. 83.

(58) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia. [Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel].

natives to [illegible] fully [illegible] [illegible] th
[illegible] ed [illegible] [illegible] de over to Dr. [illegible]
[illegible] t in Stockton, [illegible] [illegible] fling between the colonists
[illegible] the natives. Lehmun [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] look for
friction; [illegible] [illegible] time in [illegible] the settlement in
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], for the [illegible] of the
settlers who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] do. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] by the natives, but altogether without [illegible]. The
defeated natives acquiesced in the body [illegible] of the land they
had ceded to the agents. (89) [illegible] 1841, the [illegible] [illegible]
flag was for the first time hoisted on Cape Town [illegible].

[illegible] 1841, the [illegible] of the Society had become [illegible] in very
[illegible] of the success of colonization on the West [illegible] of
Africa. They [illegible] [illegible] hundred and thirty settlers [illegible]
that time living at the Society's settlement, a regularly
planned town, and great improvement in the health of the colo-
nists, although Dr. Lehmun [illegible] died about [illegible] in
[illegible]. They noted [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the free
[illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] to the settlement, and "when
they reflect upon the frequency of manumissions, wherever the
law has imposed no restrictions, when they consider the power
of example******, and especially, when they recall to the in-
stitutions of their country, and the light of the age, they are

(89) MSS Sketch of the [illegible] of Liberia. [Dr. J. W. Lugenbeal].

in [illegible] prosperity [illegible] the colony, [illegible] now in [illegible] amongst [illegible] will one day [illegible] fr[illegible] the land of their ancestors." (60)

Dr. Ayres, who had returned to Africa after his visit to the United States, was instructed to negotiate with the native kings for a "much larger extent of country than we now possess on that continent." (61)

An appeal went out from the Managers, for more funds to meet the opportunities that were dawning upon the enterprise. They appealed for the means to send emigrants in sufficient numbers to render their presence along the coast a "security from the intrigues of slave traders", and to protect the settlements from the "cupidity of neighboring tribes." Also, "abundant information has been laid before the Board ***** to warrant the declaration that numerous slave holders would send, some a portion, and others the whole of their slaves to the colony, as soon as they are convinced that the colony is prepared for their reception, and that their condition could be improved by the removal." (62)

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(60) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 198-ff. From Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Managers A. C. S. (1823)

(61) MSS Minutes of Board of Managers A. C. S. March 28, 1827.

(62) MSS Minutes Board of Managers June 4, 1823.

In view of the often repeated charge made by the ultra-abolitionists, that, between the African fever and the barbarity of the native tribes, the Society was sacrificing the American free negro for its own selfish and unworthy aims, it will be not without interest to call attention to a report of the Managers, early in 1824. Since the origin of the Society, 225 emigrants had sailed for the African coast. The number at the colony at the time of the report was 140, a number of those missing having gone to Sierra Leone to live, several had returned to the United States, and only 40 deaths had been reported. Of these 40, 22 were passengers on the Elizabeth. Only four deaths had resulted from conflicts with the natives; two had been drowned; one had died of old age; one died through his own rashness; four were children under four years of age. (63) Indeed, the Managers thought this a very hopeful beginning, and others evidently agreed with them, for the Presbyterian Synods of Philadelphia and Virginia had approved the efforts of the Society, as had also the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the first two, unanimously. And as for the possibility of securing emigrants, it was the opinion of the Board that "the means will never equal the demand for transportation." (64)

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(63) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings I; 231-32.

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(64) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 244-53.

The Managers, who had again memorialized Congress, in 1822, urging further restrictive measures against the African slave trade,(65) adopted the recommendations of a committee appointed to consider the advisibility of requesting further aid from Congress. The committee expressed the opinion that "it [the scheme of colonization] is well known to be far too great, to be sensibly affected by any resources which an association of individuals can command. To the nation, and to the nation alone, must we look for adequate means of accomplishing such a work." It was recommended that Congress be asked to take under its protection the colony already planted; to provide appropriations for its development; to make further purchases of territory; to supply it with a force adequate for its military defence; and to enact regulations for its temporary government. It was also recommended to petition Congress to incorporate the Society in the District of Columbia. (66) The petition that resulted, went the way of all other petitions whose aim was to secure direct financial aid from Congress.

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(65) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 182.

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(66) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 272-76.

At the annual meeting in February, 1824, on the motion of General Robert G. Harper, the territory that had been secured was named Liberia, and the settlement made was named, after the President of the United States, Monrovia. Early in this year a remonstrance from the Liberian settlements reached the officers of the Society. Although great care was taken to send out to the settlement only those who were believed to be desirable immigrants, the government of the Liberians by direction of the Society soon began to present added problems. Dissatisfaction among the few settlers had reached such a point that four documents and a special agent were sent to Liberia before the Colonial agent was able to restore peace and order. The settlers complained, first, that lots had not been distributed to immigrants in accordance with intstructions of the Board of Managers; second, that it was impracticable for settlers to obey the regulations requiring them to erect, each on his lot, a dwelling, within two years of his selection of the lot; third, that, becuase of the return of Dr. Ayres to the United States, the Managers evidently intended to abandon the settlers in a strage land; fourth, that certain settlers were being discriminated against, by the government, in favor of other settlers; and finally, that they were dissatisfied with the agents. The reply of the Managers is conclusive, and sets forth beyond doubt the fact that the complaints were founded upon ignorance of the facts, although it is

probably true that no adequate instructions and no definite and detailed scheme had ever been sent out to the agent, for the government of the colony. Direct, and probably useful, advice was given in the following words;

> "Let us not be misunderstood.****It is our intention now and all times to distinguish between the industrious, the provident, the orderly and useful citizens----and those who are lazy, disorderly, and hurtful to the settlement." "We wish it to be explicitly understood, that we will not extend **** indulgence to the lazy and the disorderly*****."It would give us great pleasure if we had the means to extend our supplies to those who would properly value and make good use of them. We have begged through the country--- we have begged of Congress and of the State Legislatures ---we are constantly begging and contributing ourselves. You receive all the benefit of it. Those who are not satisfied with this, will be satisfied with nothing." 67

During the disorders in the colony, the Society's Agent was insulted and abused, public authority was defied, and an armed force had taken possession of, and robbed, the public storehouse, and the Managers, in an address to the Citizens of Liberia, say; "This is the very conduct repeatedly predicted by our opponents; we have been told over and over again, that you would not submit to any law or government without an armed force; we have constantly repelled these reproaches on your character as unjust; what

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(67) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. March 20th, 1824.

shall we now say?" The address was characterized by firmness, but also by kindness; and it was rather by an appeal to their reason than by threats of punishment that the Managers called upon the colonists to submit to rightful authority and settle their differences.(68) In their general instructions to the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, the Managers speak of the "wicked combination and disgraceful proceedings of Lot Carey and others ****." "Such proceedings, if repeated, must inevitably lead to the destruction of the Colony." The mildest punishment consistent with the reestablishment of order was to be inflicted; the arms were to be taken away from those who had had a part in the rioting; civil officers, among the offenders, were to have their commissions revoked. Carey, himself a minister, was to abstain from the further exercise of his ministerial function "till time and circumstances shall have evidenced the deepness and sincerity of his repentence." (69)

In private instructions, the Agent was criticised for not having promptly resisted the first expression of "insolent and abusive language" toward him: and he was instructed;"***** keep your arms by you, or near you. Never continue altercation, where there are symptoms of passion.***** stop the rations of

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(68) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. March 20, 1824.

(69) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. ~~April , 1824~~, I; 201.

every one who refuses to labour in the public service according to their oaths and engagements. If this will not do they must be banished." He was instructed to be as "mild, calm, steady, firm", as was consistent with the necessities of the case. (70)

In addition to these efforts to bring peace to Monrovia, the Managers sent out a special agent to examine and report on the prospects of the colony. The man selected was Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley, a graduate of Yale and a native of Connecticut, who, in 1822, began a connection with the central office of the American Colonization Society, where he gained a reputation as editor and orator that was not only coextensive with the limits of the Union, but that extended to England and Scotland. From 1822 to 1840, he did more than any other single man connected with the Society ----and many men thought, as much as almost any half dozen men ---- to keep open the avenues of thought and sympathy and cooperation between the biggest and best of men in every part of the Union. Utterly unlike in their private practices; what Henry Clay was in the Halls of Congress, Gurley was to Colonization, essentially a peacemaker and a lover of the Union. Those who, following Garrison and his partisans,

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(70) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. April 1, 1824.

charge the colonization movement with being a move to rivet the chains of the slaves, and base their contention upon the fact that every President of the Society, from its organization to near the opening of the Civil War, was a holder of slaves, must be ignorant of the fact that Gurley's influence during those years of his active leadership was so much greater, in molding the policies of the Society, than that of any of these presidents, that it would be ridiculous to compare it with the influence of any, or all, of them. Elliot Cresson, one of the most persistent Colonizationists in the history of the Society, used to call the second President, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, "The Great Incubus". Those who would understand the platform of the Colonization movement must consult, not the list of Slaveholding presidents who were the official heads of the organization, although, with the possible exception of Carroll, not a president of the Society has ever been a proponent of slavery notwithstanding the fact that the first four of them were holders of negro slaves (and the two phrases are by no means synonymous to those who realize that slavery was a problem), but the secretaries and the boards of managers and directors, for these were the molders of policy. During those years of bitter struggle, between 1830 and 1840, Gurley stands out as the great Colonizationist. He was the one man who held in the hollow of his hand the confidence of moderate men throughout the

United States, on the subject of slavery. He was undoubtedly a poor guardian of the Society's exchequer. He wrought mightily with the pen and played havoc with the purse. But of all the charges that were made against him by extremists in England and America, not one has resulted in his conviction at the bar of public opinion. When he was superseded, a nation-wife protest, but a protest particularly from the South went up. While Garrison was actively and consciously engaged in pulling the Union to pieces, Gurley was traveling from North to South, from East to West, observing the results of radicalism and dreading the aftermath. An accurate biography of Gurley would throw a new and not favorable light upon the results of Garrisonism.

This man was about to perform his first important service ~~to perform his first important service~~ to the cause of Colonization. He met Ashmun at the Cape Verde Islands, whither the latter had been compelled to go, for rest and recuperation, and the two returned to Liberia. After ten days, Gurley left for America, leaving for Ashmun commissions which, like his own, were from both the Government and the Society. (71)

When Gurley presented to the Managers his proposed constitution for the government of the colony, it was received with disappointment. "The Board think it much too complicated and intricate for the simplicity of a few settlers.**** We wish the settlement founded in republican simplicity and Christian

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(71) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia. [Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel].

plainness --- all unnecessary offices and dignities and official titles ought to be avoided." (72) But, after six months' experiment, the instrument had proved so satisfactory that the Board withdrew its objection and officially approved it. (73) In his report to the Managers, Gurley expressed great satisfaction with the location of the settlement, the fertility of the soil, the health of the colonists, their general intelligence, their Sunday Schools, He was convinced, however, that the government was too feeble, and that several recent decisions of the Board had been received with dissatisfaction among the colonists. He noted the need for medicines, agricultural implements, etc. (74)

The years 1825-30 were years of rapid progress and expansion of the colonization scheme in the United States. The few settlers that began to return exerted an influence favorable to the spread of sentiment among the blacks in favor of emigration, (75) though some who returned opposed the colony. The opportunities of the Society, during this whole period, far exceeded its ability to take advantage of them. It was unable to afford the means of transportation for those who applied for passage. It did a great service in bringing about an interchange of veiws between

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(72) MSS Minutes Board of Managers. Nov. 13, 1824.

(73) MSS Minutes Board of Managers. May 18th, 1825.

(74) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. I; 277ff.

(75) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Dec. 22, 1825.

~~between~~ leading men in the South-Middle States and the New England States, by sending such men as Charles Fenton Mercer and J. B. Harrison to meet with the legislatures and to converse privately with leaders in New York and the New England States, (76) memorials were presented to legislatures of the several States, asking their approbation of the objects of the Society and their pecuniary support. (77) The Society enlisted important workers when it adopted the suggestion of J. H. B. Latrobe, that the ladies of the Union be invited to organize female societies, "for the purpose of aiding in the collection of funds by procuring donations, holding fairs, etc. etc. --- that this be put into the form of a resolution, prefaced by some general remarks ----- 'female sensibility ---- sympathy'---- etc. etc. etc. and then published as a circular." It also sought to make the means that it had count for most, in the colony, by refusing to transport to Africa any free negro over fifty years of age, unless he was a member of a family that was emigrating to Liberia; and by refusing, except in extreme cases, to give more than six months subsistence to colonists after their arrival at the settlement. (78) At the annual meeting, in

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(76) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. May 10, 1825; Jan. 24, 1828.

(77) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Mar. 4, 1825, Sept. 24, 1827.

(78) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Jan. 12, 1829; Sept. 24, 1829.

1827, Henry Clary made an important speech, voicing the disappointment that was felt by the managers at the continued refusal of Congress to appropriate funds for the cause. He was sure that the Society had been organized merely as a pioneer in the work, and conscious of its inability to carry out its program without the support of Federal or State Governments, or both. He realized that assistance had been denied it largely because it had been compelled to stand between two violent crossfires of public criticism. "According to one (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation) it was a scheme of the slaveholder to perpetuate slavery. The other, (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held,) declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves of the country******."

He believed that, hereafter, the population of the United States would duplicate itself not oftener than once in every thirty-three years. If, during the next period of duplication, he said, "the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious," and at the end of two terms, would leave the proportion of black to white approximately twenty to one. Now, he thought it practicable to transport

the annual increase of the whole colored population, slave and free, estimated by him to be about 52 000. The total expense of sending this increase to Africa, each year, would be $1 040 000 and 65 000 tons of shipping. Is that, considering the magnitude of the object, "beyond the ability of this country?***** If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot [slavery] that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her own, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror."
"Of the opponents of colonization, he says, if they succeed, "they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade with all its train of atrocities.**** They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thraldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. ****Then, and not till then,**** can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race who are doomed to bondage." Of the future of the Society he says; "I coldly and confidently anticipate success."(79)

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(79) Af. Repos. II; 334-45.

The managers undoubtedly felt that, if the North was opposed to slavery, and if it regarded the presence of the free blacks a source of weakness and of danger to the Union, and if the slaveholder was expected to offer his slaves their freedom, they ought to be able to hope confidently for liberal contributions from the North-Middle and New England States, But, despite a rapidly growing sentiment favorable to the Society, despite active cooperation between the Secretary of the Navy and the Board of Managers, and despite the hopeful future that seemed to be opening upon Liberia, contributions from New England were distinctly disappointing. (80) Expeditions had to be delayed of omitted and negroes who desired passage had to be refused, although the Society did not give up hope of providing necessary funds, until it had appealed for aid, not only through the ordinary channels, but through the churches, State Legislatures, and Masonic Orders. (81)

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(80) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A. C. S. Annual Report, 1825.
MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. I; 383, 358, 359, 462, 466, 468, 483, 369.

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(81) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. I; 428,374, 463, 372, 410, 429, 430, 504, 516, 561, 664,665.
Af. Repos. V; 128.

In 1829 the Managers publicly announced that the need for funds was "never so urgent as at present. Large drafts have come on us from the Colony, and it is all-important that our funds should be greatly increased, and that speedily."

If it be asked, why did not New England and why did not Congress grant to the Society the funds that it certainly needed, and without which it was unable to work most effectively, and the lack of which was the most important cause of the small number of emigrants transported to Liberia and a very important cause of the comparatively small number, not nearly so inconsiderable as is generally supposed, of slaves whose liberation it secured, the answer is not obvious. Perhaps the most satisfactory method of getting at the root of the matter will be to survey the progress of public sentiment, on the subject of colonization, from 1820 to 1830.

In 1918, the aims and efforts of the Society were approved by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; also by the Society of Friends of Greensboro, North Carolina; by the Synod of Virginia; and by the General Association of Massachusetts. (82) Again in 1823, and again, in 1826, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church reiterated its

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(82) MSS "Relating to African Colonization-------" House Report # 283. 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 421-22.

approval of the work of the Society; as did the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church; and the Episcopal Convention of Virginia. (83) Before 1826 and again, between 1826 and 1830, the General Conference of the Methodist Church had approved the scheme; likewise, the Baptist General Convention had approved it. (84) In 1827 it was heartily endorsed by the Massachusetts and the Connecticut Conventions of Congregational Clergy, and by the Ohio Methodist District Conference. (85)

But the talented and well known Samuel M. Worcester, College professor, Senator, Clergyman, and writer, called attention to a significant fact, in his correspondence with the Society; "There is anohter difficulty, which you will find opposing your efforts in this Commonwealth. It arises from the state of religious parties. The Orthodox and Unitarians seldom unite in the promotion of a benevolent object. Now it happens, that almost all our leading political men are Unitarians. It is not to be disguised that the influence of these men is wanted to give a State Society Auxiliary to

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(83) Af. Repos. I; 125
MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. June 2, 1823
House Reports # 283. 27 Cong., 3 Sess. 421-22.

(84) Af. Repos. I; 343-4.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Martin Ruter to Gurley, Cincinnati, June 27, 1828.

(85) Af. Repos. III; 118-20.

the A. C. S. a certain kind of polularity. At the same time. the orthodox are the people on whom you are to rely for efficient and permanent patronage. Whether the two parties can be brought to act in concert in regard to Colonization, is I think a hard question."(86)

Prior to 1826, the legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Indiana had officially approved the colonization project, as carried on by the Society. (87)

In 1827, Vermont and Kentucky expressed themselves, through their legislatures, favorable to the Society, as did Ohio, and Kentucky again, in 1828; Pennsylvania and Indiana, in 1829; Massachusetts, in 1831; and New York and Maryland, in 1832. The Delaware Legislature likewise gave its approval. (88) The resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature was in the following words; "That the Legislature of Massachusetts view with great interest the efforts made by the American Colonization Society in establishing an asylum on the Coast of Africa for the free people of color

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(86) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Worcester. Amherst College, Nov. 16, 1829.

(87) Af. Repos. I; 343-4.

(88) House Report # 283. 27 Cong., 3 Sess. 926-36.

of the United States; and that, in the opinion of this Legislature, it is a subject eminently deserving the attention and aid of Congress, so far as shall be consistent with the powers of congress, the rights of the several States of the Union, and the rights of the individuals who are the objects of those efforts." The Pennsylvania Legislature declared, "their removal [that of the free people of color] from among us would not only be beneficial to them, but highly auspicious to the best interests of our country." The Indiana Legislature expressed "unqualified approbation."

As to public sentiment in the North-Middle and New England States, David Hale, of the New York Journal of Commerce, said; "So far as I have been able to understand public sentiment here, it is entirely (among evangelical Christians at least) in favor of the Society, and its objects are believed to be attainable. The principal thing to be established, I think is, a firm conviction that the affairs of the Society are always judiciously managed. It has been thought that there was in some instances a want of system and order." (89) One of the Society's agents in Vermont reported; "There is a very general impression in these States that we are coming up to the work about as fast as could be expected and that the Southern States are not doing their part." (90) Theodore Frelinghuysen wrote, of New Jersey;

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(89) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Hale to A. C. S. Sept. 7, 1826.

(90) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Myron Tracy to Gurley, Hartford, Conn., October 3, 1826.

"Public feeling is against us ---- it regards the scheme as visionary-- and nothing but an experiment conducted upon decided and liberal principles will correct the views of the great majority of our citizens." (91) Jared Sparks said; "The cause is one of great importance, and cannot be supported with too much zeal or force." (92) The editor of the Vermont Chronicle thought; "There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprise on earth, so well calculated to secure the favorable opinion and enlist the hearty good will of all men, as is this, when its objects and bearings are fully understood." (93) The Connecticut society reported, in 1829; "Only one opinion is expressed among our citizens, and that opinion is unqualified approbation." (94)

From the South, particularly the lower South, reports were not so favorable. A South Carolinian wrote, in 1827; "I am truly sorry I cannot procure more friends and aid to the Society. I am however determined to persevere, under the belief that opposition will give way to information. This however is the great difficulty. The press, in the State,

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(91) Letters to A. C. S. Frelinghuysen. Newark, N. J. Feb. 3, 1827.

(92) Letters to A. C. S. Jared Sparks to Curley. 1827.

(93) Af. Repos. IV; (1828) 142.

(94) Af. Repos. V; 121.

is mostly against the Society. Things in its favor are uniformly excluded and things against it are spread abroad." (95) Rev. William Winans, a prominent Mississippi Methodist preacher, and an agent of the Society, wrote; "I am persuaded that the efforts of an agent would be of vast importance: but the selection must be judicious." (96) Clergymen from South Carolina and Georgia reported much hostility to the Society in those States. (97)

Of sentiment in Ohio, one of the general agents of the Society, whose territory included that State, reported very favorably. (98) Another agent, reporting from the same State, said; "Among the members, we number the Governor, Auditor and Treasurer of the State, Speaker of the Senate, a considerable number of the Senators and Represenatives, respectable and influential citizens. But sir, though the attempt will doubtless be triumphant, I frankly confess, that I have met strong opposition, resulting from ignorance of the nature and design of the A. C. Soc. The great, popular objection is, that it is a scheme of slaveholders, to strengthen the bonds of slavery, by the removal of the free blacks. You may say

(95) MSS Letters to A.C.S. H. Mc Mellan, of S.C. Feb. 23,1827.

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(96) MSS Letters toA.C.S. Winans. Centreville, Miss.Feb.27, 1827.

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(97) Af. Repos. V; 180-81.

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(98) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Canton, O. B. O.Peers to Gurley. Nov. 1, 1826.

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that I have the means, at once of refuting these ungenerous slanders; but, sir, this is hard to accomplish, however ample the means, when men will neither hear nor read and are pertinaceously wedded to their errors. The cause however, gains ground very obviously and will achieve a general conquest. It is the cause of justice, of humanity, of God, and shall prevail." (99)

Few men in Virginia were more competent than W. M. Atkinson, of Petersburg, to give an accurate report of sentiment in that State. In 1827 he was greatly discouraged, for the success of the Society, in its operations in the South. He said:

> "To see a people to whom I am thus closely bound by ties of affection, differing from me, on any question so important and so interesting as this, would of itself be painful. But there is another and a more legitimate source of painful feeling. One of the strongest recommendations of the Colon. Soc. in my eyes, has always been the indirect but powerful influence which I thought it would exert on the very existence of that fell destroyer of the prosperity and the morals, of our land, slavery. I hoped it would do this by keeping the public mind fixed on the subject, and by showing the practicability of removing the unhappy race*****to the land of their fathers, whilst it carefully avoided touching those points, which could not even be discussed without awakening the most unkind and bitter feelings. Hence I regarded every friend gained by the Society in the larger slaveholding States as equal to two friends in any other region.*******Now I have seen with deep regret that the enemies of the Society in this part

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(99) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. M. Her Kie. Columbus, O. Jan. 4, 1827.

of Virginia, (and I fear it is the case throughout the SouthEastern States,) are increasing in number and violence****. Do you desire to know the cause? So far as I can judge, (and I have used all the means in my power to learn the true reason,) it is the application made last winter and it is supposed to be renewed next winter, to Congress for aid. The people of this region, at least an overwhelming majority of them, believe that Congress have no power to grant that aid. I will not stop to ask whether their opinions are right or wrong.**** It is sufficient that they do hold these opinions --- and furthermore, if upon any topic they would watch with double jealously the movements of Congress, it is upon such as are in the most distant manner connected with our black population.***** I feel constrained to express the opinion that if the Managers and the Society do persevere in making their application to Congress they do it at the cost of alienating almost all their friends in the Southern Atlantic States. Hence they must lose not only whatever pecuniary aid they have expected from this quarter, but they must abandon forever the hope, of operating on the public mind in the manner above hinted, so as ultimately to exert a powerful influence on the total voluntary abolition of slavery." (100)

Yet, General John H. Cocke, a prominent figure in the colonization cause, wrote more hopefully of Virginia. He thought the cause was gaining ground, although he thought that political agitation had done it injury in certain parts of the State. (101)

The fact is that it was a very difficult matter to keep the colonization movement entirely distinct from the discussions during political campaigns. This was true, not because Colon-

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(100) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Atkinson to Gurley. Petersburg, Va. July 4, 1827.

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(101) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Cocke to Gurley. Fluvanna Co., Va., July 7th, 1827.

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ization leaders sought to work through the channels of political parties, but because Colonization was too meaty a bone, over which political aspirants could growl, to be entirely ignored. In January, 1827, Latrobe wrote; "Clay I see has been helping himself to a ride on our shoulders ---- but as he has no doubt been of service to us, I will not scrutinize too closely into his motives.**** Weems [a Maryland Congressman, who insisted on favoring Colonization, in spite of his unpopularity and his inability to ride like a Clay] is an ass, aye, a very ass." (102)

Of the public men of Virginia, who, in 1827, opposed the Society, William B. Giles stands out prominently. William Maxwell, prominent in Virginia as college president, legislator, and Colonizationist, wrote;

> "I cannot tell you what you are to think of our Virginia Assembly, for I really don't know what to think of them myself. They certainly seem to hang back most shabbily in this great business of our Society. But the truth is, I suppose, they are many of them still wofully ignorant of the whole nature and progress of our engagement, and I have had some proof of it that would amuse and amaze and distress you all together."

But he thinks that at the next session of the legislature;

> "we shall be able to obtain an act that will please you---- Governor Giles notwithstanding!"
>
> "I should have liked hugely to have taken this political mounteblank in hand, as you wish me to do; but have been restrained from meddling with him for two or three weighty reasons. In the first place his [policies] are such tissues of nonsense and paganism that they can do no harm, I think, except with incurables. 2ly, he is such a prince of hoaxers, and has such power of misleading the simple, and all who are willing enough to be duped by him, that I do

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(102) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Latrobe to Gurley. Baltimore. Jan. 27, 1827.

not think it would be good policy to irritate [him into] more active hostility against our scheme if we can help it. *****and lastly, I am more and more satisfied thatit is our duty to pursue this great subject with the tone and spirit of the gospel in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves if peradventure God will give them grace to the acknowledging of the truth. So I shall let him alone for the present at least----- and especially since he is become (by a fantastic revolution of the wheel of fortune) our Governor elect! ---- for which I am most heartily sorry of course." (103)

William M. Blackford, the most important Colonizationist living in Fredericksburg, Virginia, wrote, in 1828:

"I cannot forbear congratulating you on the active hostility to our scheme of the miserable wretch now at the head of affairs in Virginia. The suicidal infelicity of his arguments is never dangerous to any cause but the one he supports. I know of several who have become friends simply because Giles is an enemy. Any scheme of benevolence within the level of his comprehension or approbation, would be received with suspicion---- and e converso his denunciation received as highest praise and commendation."

"I have reason to believe that a great change is about to take place in Virginia ---- she will I have no doubt become decidedly the advocate of colonization. The coming year (in which the question of convention will be settled) is big with her fate."

"I cannot omit to state, as an evidence of the progress of our cause, that the announcement of our intention to have a public address excited no other feeling than that of approbation, whereas, had anyone attempted some 8 or 10 years ago to make a speech on the subject, he would in all probability have been mobed." (104)

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(103) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Wm. Maxwell to A. C. S. Norfolk, Va. Feb. 24, 1827.

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(104) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Blackford to Gurley. Feb. 26, 1828.

It was significant that the legislature refused to consider resolutions hostile to the Society, submitted by the Giles party. (105)

During the years 1827-29, the Society was viewed, at least in some of the Northern and Western States, as a part of the Clay machine. Clay had supported it so consistently that it was brought into every contest in which he was a leading character. And even today, his support of it will be by many considered a support purely for party purposes. And yet, Clay's support of Colonization was the logical cut-come of his whole political course; and any other position would have been inconsistent with the public policy of the man.

If now it be asked again, why did not Congress appropriate funds to carry on the work of the Society, the answer may be somewhat simplified by this discussion of the state of public opinion in the different sections of the Union. The congressmen from South Carolina and Georgia would not support such an appropriation because South Carolina and Georgia were wedded to the system of slavery, and looked upon the Society as a form of New England abolitionism. (106)

(105) MSS Letters to A. C. S. D. J. Burr, Richmond, Va. to Gurley. March 10, 1828.

(106) Af. Repos I; 161-64; 180-91; II; 22-23.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. Wm. Meade Feb. 21, 1827.
Af. Repos. III; 172-79.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. S. K. Talmage to Gurley. Augusta, Ga. May 29, 1829.
MSS Minutes Board of Managers ~~AMCOM~~ A.C.S. Apr. 25, 1831.
Af. Repos. IX; 228-9.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. R. M. Palmer. Charleston, S. C. August 4, 1830.
Af. Repos. VI; 193-209.

The hostility was made all the more pronounced by the fact that the political acrobats made capital of the opposition and used it as a favorite issue. They associated it, in their campaigns, with the tariff and internal improvements. Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, who ten years before, had been one of the most liberal contributors, in Charleston, to the Society, was now in 1830 calling the scheme both cruel and absurd. The editor of the official journal of the Society sized up the situation in these two Southern States as follows;

> "voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of Colonization, and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise without restraint the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature." (107)

The opposition in Virginia, and doubtless in North Carolina, was not from the enemies, but from the friends of colonization. Even William H.Fitzhugh had declared that, firm as he was in his advocacy of the Colonization scheme, and favorable as he was to asking for an appropriation from Congress for it, he would actively oppose such an appropriation if he thought it was not in keeping with the spirit of the constitution to grant it. It was undoubtedly the belief, in Virginia and at least to a considerable extent, in North Carolina, that such an appropriation was not warranted by that instrument. The ~~veiw~~ view of Atkinson, a leader in the colonization movement in Virginia,

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(107) Af. Repos. VI; 193-209.

has already been set forth. Rev. John Cooke, of Hanover County, Virginia, had been requested to distribute memorials praying for aid for the Society from Congress. His reply was: "Even those who have reflected on the subject and are favorably disposed towards it, are generally opposed to Congress interfering. I am rather afraid that, with their present limited knowledge of the subject, their many mistaken veiws of it, and the morbid state of feeling that exists about here respecting the assumptions and implied powers of the General Government, it will be dangerous to offer the memorial for signatures." (108) But probably the most powerful, or at least the most influential, argument that was made against federal appropriation in aid of the Society, was that contained in a report, presented by Senator Tazewell, of Virginia, in reply to many memorials asking that the Society receive Federal aid. The burden of the argument was the unconstitutionality of appropriating federal revenue for the purposes proposed; the unconstitutionality of holding as a dependency a colony that, from its very position, could never become an integral part of the American system, and that, therefore, was not contemplated by the fathers of the constitution; the danger involved in any effort, on the part of the Federal Government, "to intrude itself within the limits of the States, for the purpose

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(108) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. John Cooke, Hanover Co., Va. Feb. 9, 1827.

of withdrawing from them, an important portion of their population"; and the probability that such a move would soon result in the federal government being called upon by the States to pay "something like an equivalent for the slaves, in order to obtain their manumission." (109)

Nor were these constitutional scruples confined to those who lived in Virginia. Gerrit Smith, himself, doubted the power of the Federal Government to make appropriations for this purpose. (110) And he said of the Van Buren men in the New York Legislature, that they were as full of constitutional scruples as the South Carolinians were. (111) When, in 1835, Clay made another attempt in the Senate, Maxwell thought that if the Virginia Legislature failed to take action favorable to the Society, it would be because of the effort made in the Federal body. (112) An agent of the Society wrote, in 1837; "I have just come from Mr. Ritchie's office, where I found him engaged in writing an article, calculated to do away in a great degree the good effect of what he has

(109) Af. Repos. III; 161-72.

(110) MSS Letters to A. C. S. G. Smith. Jan. 5, 1830.

111) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Smith to Gurley. April 16, 1832.

(112) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. C. W. Andrews to Gurley. Richmond. Feb. 1, 1836.

said before; and all drawn forth by the discussion in Congress. *****It is a matter of universal regret among our friends here that Mr. Clay moved the subject in Congress." (113)

Among those Virginia colonizationists who did not agree with their colonization brethren of the strict construction school were John Marshall and James Madison. On this point they were both prepared to admit the power of the federal government to offer aid, it seems. But they thought the most unobjectionable scheme, and the one most likely to overcome popular prejudice, was that proposed by Rufus King in the United States Senate, February 18, 1825. It was by him proposed; "That, as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the net proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that the said fund shall be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of color, in any of the said States, as by the laws of the States respectively may be allowed to be

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(113) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Rev. C. W. Andrews, Richmond, Feb. 1, 1837.

emancipated, or removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America." Of this plan, Marshall said; "It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the general government.***** The power of the government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject I have thought and still think that the proposition made by Mr. King in the Senate is the most unexceptionable and the most effective that can be devised." (114) Mr. Madison favored, likewise, the plan of Mr. King. "I am aware,"he said, "of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the colored population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority, would be carried with little delay through the forms of the constitution." (115)

The active and open opposition of the States of the South-east, the constitutional objections that prevailed in other of the Southern States, and in some of the middle States, and the various local opinions that predominated in portions of New England and the Western States, ----such objections, for instance, as the doubt of the practicability of the scheme;

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(114) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Marshall to Gurley. Richmond, Va. December 13, 1831.

(115) Af. Repos. XIV; 305-06.

the belief that pervaded many localities that the Society's chief purpose was to increase the value of slaves; and the feeling, now becoming deeply rooted, that the remedy for slavery was immediate emancipation rather than settlement on the coast of Africa----- these causes are sufficient to explain why the Society was unable to secure from Congress direct appropriations in aid of colonization.

And so the Society was forced to depend, at the time of its greatest promise, upon the contributions voluntarily sent in. The amount contributed from the year 1820 to the end of 1830, was $112,842.89. The amount of the expenditures during the same period was $106, 367.72. The number of emigrants transported to Liberia was 1430. The total cost, per emigrant ----including in this amount not only the transportation and subsistence expenses, but also salaries paid to officers of the Society both in the United States and Liberia, the support of public schools, buildings, presents to native kings, fortifications, expenses of court house and jail in the colony, expenses of opening roads, and founding settlements ----- was $74. 38 . (116) In spite of the criticism of the Abolitionists that the public was being imposed upon by men who used up too large a part of the contributions in the payment of office salaries, it is difficult to see how so much could have been done with the expenditure of so limited an amount.

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(116) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. Feb. 20, 1834.

The expeditions of emigrants, between 1820 and the end of 1830, are as follows, with number of emigrants, by States; (117)

Year	Vessel	Va.	N. C.	S.C.	GA.	Md.	D.C.	N.Y.	R.I.	Tenn.	Miss.	Pa.	Total
1820	Elizabeth	9				2	2	41				32	86
1821	Nautilus	24				8							32
1822	Strong					26						10	36
1823	Oswego	17				24						19	60
1824	Cyrus	103											103
"	Fidelity					4						1	5
1825	Hunter	48	17				1						66
1826	Vine								32 (1fromMass)				33
"	Indian Chief	18	118			12							148
1827	Doris	8	74			10							92
"	Ditto	22				65		15 (2 from Del.)					104
"	Randolph			26									26
1828	Nautilus	7	145			12							164
1829	Harriet	132	1			17							150
1830	Liberia	45	1	(1 from Conn.)						10		1	58
"	Montgomery	30	2		30	7	1						70
"	Carolinian	78	1		9	9		1			8		106
"	Valador	39	41				(1 from Ala.)						81
Totals	18	580	400	26	39	196	4	57	32	10	8		1420

also, 1 from Mass., 2 from Del., 1 from Conn., 1 from Ala.

Prior to 1827, the emigrants transported were nearly all free negroes; after that time, many of them were recently emancipated slaves and, in very many cases, slaves who had been emancipated or manumitted for the express purpose of removal and who would not have been given their liberty had it not been for the Colonization Society. (118)

(117) Af. Repos. X; 292. It will be noted that the total number of emigrants here given is 1420, whereas the number reported by the Board (see page 83) is 1430. The cause of the discrepancy is not apparent.

(118) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia. Dr. [J. W. Lugenbeel]

If the Society had had the financial support of the Federal Government, there is no doubt that its operations would have been greatly enlarged and that the number of slaves liberated would have reached far into the thousands. At this time, as at every other time, up to the proclamation of emancipation, the active directors of the Society, the agents, the colonial agents and governors, and the active members in every part of the Union were opponents of slavery, and looked forward, some of them, ~~at~~ to, is comparatively speedy, and by far the larger number of them, to its ultimate, abolition. Fearing the increase of the free negro population, the legislatures had passed laws restricting very materially, the right to emancipate slaves--- indeed, emancipation, without the removal from the State of those emancipated, was made a violation of the law. And yet, the emancipations went on, in the South-Middle Atlantic States, and there is no telling how far it would have gone, had the Society's efforts not been circumscribed by the limitation of its resources. Monroe told Elliott Cresson that he believed the Society could secure the emancipation of ten thousand slaves, in the single State of Virginia, if it would send them to Liberia. Undoubtedly the Society was favorably known in every part of the Union, in 1829, although its friends were comparatively few in Georgia and South Carolina.

It was just at this hour of triumph and of promise that there arose, in the North and West, the most virulent, needless,

and unscrupulous opposition it was ever called on to face. And this was but one of several causes of the difficulties it had to encounter between 1831 and 1839. The Abolition offensive, the secession of auxiliary societies, financial difficulties, distress in the colony, and a reorganization of the Society ---- these are the topics of real importance that ought to be discussed, in a study of its operations.

Opposition from the Garrisonians was like a bolt from the blue. Garrison himself began life a friend of the Society. Arthur Tappan, James G. Birney, who was for months one of its active agents, Gerrit Smith, who gave thousands of dollars to the Society, before the time of his defection, all these were Colonizationists before they were Abolitionists. Garrison had addressed a Boston audience, in a speech favoring colonization; it was while he was working for the Society, not after he went over to the Garrisonians, that Birney decided to give up his slaves; Gerrit Smith, up to 1835, thought that the Society was not only not pro-slavery, but that it stressed emancipation too consistently to retain the active cooperation of the South. And when these men ceased to be Colonizationists, they did so, not because they had discovered some ulterior and hidden, or dishonorable motive. The swan songs of Birney and Smith, each requiring a considerable part of the issue of the Liberator in which it appeared, were very frank disavowals of the discovery of such motives. The opprobrium and the charges were evolutions, largely of Garrison's mind. Indeed, the General Assembly of the Pres-

byterian Church, in 1830, with but four dissenting votes recommended the taking of Fourth of July collections for the objects of the Society. (119) John A. Dix, of New York, wrote, in the same year; "The current of opinion is with the Institution; and it will be borne on to the fulfilment of its object." (120) Thomas Clarkson, of England, wrote; "For myself I am free to confess, that of all the things that have been going on in our favor since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed; that which is now going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses everything which has yet occurred. No sooner had your Colony been established on Cape Mesurado, than there appeared to be a disposition among the owners of slaves in the U. S. to give them freedom voluntarily without compensation and to allow them to be sent to the land of their ancestors. To me this is truly astonishing!" (121) Wilberforce wrote; "You have gladdened my heart by convincing me, that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your Institution,

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(119) Af. Repos. VI; 91.

(120) Af. Repos. VI; 163-69.

(121 MSS Letters to A. C. S. London, Oct. 6, 1831. Cresson to Gurley.

all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality." (122) The whole State of Virginia was deeply stirred by the Southampton Insurrection, as was also at least one neighboring State, Maryland, and the cause was greatly revived. (123) In the midst of Garrison's tirades George Bancroft and Governor Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, were both friends of the Society. (124) An agent of the Society, traveling by a circutous route from New York to Maine, had conversed with editors, clergymen, and others acquainted with public sentiment. He reported that he had talked with from 90 to 100 editors. Of these, only four expressed hostility to the Society, one of the four being the editor of the Liberator. More than nine-tenths of these editors expressed friendly feelings towards the Society. He had talked with more than 300 clergymen, only three of whom expressed hostility to it. He quoted very favorable resolutions passed by the Methodist District Conference of Penobscot District, of the Baptist Convention of Maine,

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(122) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Cresson to Gurley. Nov. 29, 1831.

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(123) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Petersburg, Va. Sept. 10, 1831. Atkinson to Curley.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Richmond, Va. Benj. Brand to Gurley. Oct. 5, 1831.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Richmond, Va. Brand to Gurley. Oct. 8, 1831.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Steamboat on Chester River. Gen. Jno. H. Cooke, Sr. to Gurley Oct. 7, 1831.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Richmond, Va. D. J. Burr. Oct. 17, 1831
MSS Letters to A. C. S. Wm. Maxwell. Nov. 30, 1831.

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(124) Af. Repos. IX; 24.

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and of the Baptist Convention of Massachusetts. (125) R. H. Toler, Editor of the Lynchburg Virginian, wrote; "Among the people of this section of country, there is very little opposition felt or manifested to the scheme of African Colonization. Men, of all creeds in politics, and of all sects in religion, cooperate in advancing its interests." (126) Of the Valley of Virginia, Wm. C. Matthews wrote; "as far as I know, throughout all this valley, there is an almost universal feeling in favor of your American Colonization Society." (127)

And yet, Gurley, the Society's Secretary, writing from Richmond, Virginia, where he had gone during the meeting of the Legislature, wrote to a Member of the Board of Managers of the Society; "We can account for the course of the Legislature only by supposing either that professions of regard for colonization have been insincere -- that abolitionism has alienated the members from colonization --- or that they have changed their principles and go for perpetual slavery--- something may be owing to each of these supposed facts." (128) To him who is tolerably acquainted with Virginia history, the statement of Toler and that of Gurley are full of significance. An extract from a letter of William H. Fitzhugh to the Society, in 1829, will throw much light on these statements. Fitzhugh was at that time a member of the Virginia

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(125) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Wm. L. Stone. N. Y. Apr. 19, 1833.

(126) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Lynchburg, Va. Toler to Gurley, Aug. 22, 1833.

(127) MSS Letters to A. C. S. W. C. Matthews. Martinsburg, Va. Aug. 13, 1833.

(128) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Gurley to Cales. Richmond, Va. March 16, 1837.

Legislature. "We have no chance to do anything for the Col. Soc. this winter, nor indeed ever again, till our representation [the representation of Eastern and Western Virginia, in the Legislature] is equalized. The present is the ablest legislature I have ever seen assembled here; and it is also completely drilled for party purposes. On the subject of the Col. Soc. we can carry with us the representatives of a majority of the people; but the lower country, by its excess of representation, can control all our movements. We have just concluded one of the most protracted as well as able debates I have ever heard, on the subject of South Carolina opposition to the tariff.**** one of the majority acknowledged, in debate, his belief that these were the last resolutions in favor of State rights that would ever be passed. My own opinion is that the effect of the convention will be to revolutionize the politics of Virginia entirely----- 'a consummation most devoutly to be wished.'" (129) From these statements and from very many others that might be added, it is evident that the legislature of Virginia did not represent the public opinion of the entire State, but only of the Eastern section of the State. If, as the Abolitionists were just at this time charging, the Colonization Society was an invention of slaveholders, and, of course, primarily Virginia slaveholders, to increase the value of their slaves, eastern Virginia sentiment would have been more favorable than western Virginia sentiment, towards

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(129) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Fitzhugh to Gurley. Richmond. Feb. 22, 1829.

the Colonization Society. Western Virginia was certainly in no mood to be foremost in favoring an organization gotten up by the slave owners of the eastern counties, for their own pecuniary profit. The opposition between these two sections was active and the hostility acute, (130) and particularly in the attitude each took towards the question of slavery. The fact that it was the legislature that held back, and the western part of the State that urged support of the Society, is very important evidence that Garrison's accusations were baseless.

In the West, Clay, of Kentucky, and Elisha Whittlesey, were probably the most influential of all the Colonizationists.

In the Southwest, there was zealous support of the Society. Hundreds of slaves were given over to it for transportation to the Colony. The Presbytery of Mississippi, in 1833, passed resolutions expressing "unabated confidence in the principles and plans of the American Colonization Society **** and once more recommend it cordially to their congregations." (131)

But in South Carolina and Georgia, opposition was still pronounced, (132) Grimke wrote, from Charleston; "Let me advise for your sakes and for the sake of the Union, that until this crisis be past you do not send an agent at all, not even to

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(130) Ambler; Sectionalism in Virginia, passim.

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(131) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Pine Grove, Miss. Feb. 23, 1834.

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(132) MSS Letters to A. C. S. J. Corning to Gurley. Charleston, S. C. Feb. 10, 1831.
MSS Letters to A. C. S. T. S. Grimke to Gurley, Charleston, S. C. May 17, 1831.
Af. Repos. XIII; 201-06.

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explain your views to the colored people, -- so as to encourage them to emigrate."

It was just at this time, when sentiment was very favorable to the Colonization scheme, and when the charges made by Garrison and his coadjutors were utterly out of place and uncalled for, that the storm of that radical leader broke upon the Society. An account of that opposition will receive more attention hereafter. It is enough, here, to say that Secretary Gurley, writing from New York, in 1834, declared; "The Abolitionists are certainly gaining ground, and will carry a large portion of the North with them, unless we can find agents of zeal and talent, to defend the cause in this part of the country." (133) In 1835 he thought there were nearly a dozen weekly newspapers, besides many other periodicals, "in great part devoted to the work of destroying the influence of this Society." (134) And the influence that resulted from the Abolition crusade was great and immediate, as will appear from a letter from the New England philanthropist, Thomas H. Gallaudet; "But in confidence, I must tell you, that the Col. cause must recede in its influence in New England, unless it is made to operate, (and avowedly so by those who advocate it here,) as one of the means for the abolition of slavery." (135) At a later time the Society regained some of the ground it had lost in New England; but for approximately ten years it was almost impotent in that section.

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(133) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Gales. N. Y. Apr.8,1834.

(134) MSS Letterst to A.C.S. Gurley. Wash.D.C. Mar.23, 1835.

(135) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gallaudet to Gurley, Hartford. Conn. (July 5, 1838.)

Another difficulty was the secession of auxiliary societies. During the decade from 1830 to 1840, the Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Mississippi, and Louisiana societies adopted policies either partially or entirely independent of the parent organization. The Maryland Society was the first to assume an independent course, and its independence was practically complete. It established a settlement of its own at Cape Palmas, miles south of the older settlements; the Pennsylvania and New York societies established a settlement at Bassa Cove, between Monrovia and Cape Palmas; the Mississippi and Louisiana societies established a settlement at Sinou. Eventually all these societies were restored to their auxiliary relation; but during the period of their independent action they were a source of weakness to the parent Society. With all their good wishes at the parting, they invariably competed with the activities of the older organization. Not only so; but they almost nullified the efforts of the Society to raise funds in territory over which they claimed jurisdiction. They also sent out their own expeditions and controlled their own policies, which sometimes fell short of the requirements of wisdom. For instance, the Pennsylvania society, mindful of the origin of the Keystone colony, established a settlement on peace principles, forbidding the possession or use of arms therein. The result was that the Africans made an attack which proved so disastrous that the surviving settlers had to be taken to a protected settlement. Furthermore, so long as the parent Society was able to hold together the auxiliaries, it was able to unify the aims and feelings of organ-

izations widely separated, in distance and also in the environment of opinion in which they lived. Numerous societies under a common head would entertain, in general, a common opinion and have common aims. Hardly had the Maryland Society seceded before its policy began to differ from that of the American Colonization Society. And after the withdrawal, for many, though not all, purposes, of the Pennsylvania and New York Societies, they immediately began to approximate more and more closely the moderate abolitionists of the North. Separate action on the part of these organizations was a severe blow to the parent society, and for years a large part of its energy was directed to the restoration of auxiliary relations.

The movement for separate action, on the part of the Maryland Society began, it seems, early in 1831. Various causes have been given for the action that was then taken. Elliot Cresson, whose zeal for Colonization was equaled only by his exaggerated veiws of the business inefficiency of the Board of Managers of the parent Society, declared that the reason back of Maryland's defection was her distrust of the Board's ability to handle properly the funds --- not the dishonesty but the business incompetency of it. (136) And it is certainly true that after repeated meetings in an attempt to adjust satisfactorily the diefferences that had arisen ---- for the Board of Managers saw in Maryland's action the setting of a precedent that was likely to rise to plague them---- the point upon which negotiations were finally broken off was in the discussion upon the disposition of funds received into the Maryland treasury(137)

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(136) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Cresson. Phil.Apr. 12, 1831.
(137)MSS Minutes Board of Managers,A.C.S. Apr. 4, 1831.

The position of the Maryland Society, was stated by J.H.B. Latrobe; "We agree to make regular returns of our receipts and expenditures to you and to bear the expences of our colonists in Africa; but not a voice was heard in favor of paying or placing to your credit one penny of our funds gross or surplus." (138) By a committee of the Maryland Society it was urged that the State could never be rid of the incubus of the free negro population until a State organization, prepared to take a more aggressive part in the accomplishment of its purpose than a mere auxiliary to a national organization could take, was put into operation. The peculiar situation of the State and her peculiar problem made necessary, they said, a separate organization. (139) What these peculiar conditions were was set forth as follows, by Latrobe, in a private letter to Gurley, in 1834;

> "To prove Colonization, two things had to be established. The first, that colonies of colored people, capably of self-defence, self support, and self government could be founded on the coast of Africa. Second, that by means of these colonies, slave-holding States could be made free States. The first was proved by you. The second remains to be proved. Upon proof of the second now hangs the whole system. The first step to be taken to prove it, is to get a slave-holding State to determine to make the experiment. This, which, three years ago, was hardly within the range of any reasonable probability, has been done; and Maryland is now striving to establish the second branch of the proposition, and to prove that, by means of colonies on the coast of Africa, a slaveholding State may be made a free State.

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(138) MSS Letters to A.C. S. Latrobe to Gurley. Balto. Md. Mar. 30, 1831.

(139) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Apr. 4, 1831.

> "Now, it appears to the Board of Managers, that the success of Maryland will have such all powerful effect upon Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, that the whole influence of the friends of colonization, everywhere, ought to be devoted to her aid. If colonization, they think, were to stand still, in every other State, until Maryland succeeded in her undertaking, yet provided she did succeed, no mischief would be done, but, on the contrary, all the assistance that had been given her would be amply compensated by the then omnipotent influence of her example." (140)

The Board of Managers made a very earnest attempt to dissuade the Maryland Society from independent action. They called attention to the fact that the views of Colonizationists in different parts of the country had already begun to vary widely, and "the friends of the cause are beginning to operate in their several ways, a multiplicity of interests willengender collision of views and of vital interests. Hence it becomes and continues of paramount importance that some salutary control should concentrate in the Parent Society." (141) In a continuation of the policy of separate action the parent society would be rendered utterly impotent, for not only would each of the Southern States pursuing that policy, act upon its own local veiws, but the Northern States Societies, seeing that there was no central control and

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(140) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Balto. Md. Latrobe to Gurley. December 29, 1834.

(141) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C. S. April 4, 1831.

no uniformity of policy, would discontinue their support. And yet, with the most forceful protest it could make, the Parent Society saw that there was no means of compelling the Maryland Society to continue its auxiliary relation, and its attitute was that of a willingness to surrender every point at issue, except the vital one of dependence. Even this the Maryland Society compelled it to give up also; and from 1833 the active operations of the two societies were entirely separate, the Cape Palmas settlement and territory comprising about 1000 sq. miles in the southern part of Liberia. Here Maryland sent her emigrants and established them under laws which entirely excluded ardent spirits from the settlement. (142) Within the next five years the Maryland Society sent out nine expeditions. (143)

In November 1833, requests came from the Philadelphia and New York societies for permission to act with a considerable degree of independence. They desired to establish jointly in Liberia, settlers taken out and governed, in Africa, almost entirely by themselves. The shadow, but not the substance, of the auxiliary relation was to continue as heretofore. Undoubtedly the most energetic and persistent agitator for this independent relation was the Philadelphian, Elliot Cresson, one of the most zealous partizans and certainly the most belligerent Friend the Society ever had. His reasons for desiring independence, he said,

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(142) Af. Repos. XVII; 184-86.

(143) Af. Repos. XIV; 33-40.

were: (1) the inefficient management of the parent Board of Managers, and (2) the unsatisfactory colonial governor recently appointed and sent out. (144) Also, there is no doubt that Cresson was anxious for the establishment, upon Quaker principles, of a settlement whose name, he proposed, should be Penn, or Benezet. Other reasons doubtless were, the comparative inactivity of the parent Society, in sending out emigrants during 1833, arising from a want of funds; also the delivery of several speeches at the annual meeting, which did not meet with the entire approval of the New York or Philadelphia delegates. Also, there is no doubt that the charge of Cresson against the colonial governor or agent was general in the north middle States. (145) But Gurley wrote, from Philadelphia, where he went in 1835 in an effort to reconcile the differences between the Philadelphia and New York Societies, on the one hand, and the Parent Society, on the other, suggesting that the demand for independent action had arisen from (1) "the general sentiment of the friends of colonization at the North demanding that Colonization societies should be avowedly and decidedly hostile to slavery," and (2) "a distrust in the management of the Board at Washington utterly destructive to its influence as the exclusive director of the funds."(146)

(144) MSS Letters to A. C. S. Phil. Nov. 20,1833. Cresson to A.C.S.

(145)MSS(Confidential) Letter to A.C.S. Gurley. Phil.Apr.1,1834.

(146) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to B. of M. Phil. May 1, 1835.

Indeed, by 1834, there was excited in the Northern colonization societies a strong, and almost uncontrollable, tendency toward aggressivle action on the subject of slavery (147), and the danger undoubtedly was, not that the Society would tend to perpetuate slavery, but that it was rushing into such radical action that it would lose once and forever the cooperation of the slave-holding border States. And yet, it was just at this time that The Liberator was spreading throughout New England the "facts" about the Society, that it was a device of the slaveholders to rivet the chains of their slaves! The truth is that The Liberator lived on sectionalism; the Colonization Society would have been killed by it. The effort of Gurley, in this crisis, was to inject, by cooperation, the anti-slavery spirit of the North into the South, and bring about, by peaceable means, the gradual abolition of salvery. This danger of a division, among the societies, so decided as to result, in all likelihood, in a separate organization of the North Middle and New England States, and the resultant alienation of the South from the whole movement was foreseen and dreaded by the Board of Managers. "As the population to be especially benefitted by this Society mostly reside at the South, ******** it is of extreme importance, that the people of the North should remain united with those of the South, in

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(147) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Fendall. N. Y. May 31, 1834.

the plans and measures that may be devised and executed for their good." (148) But it was again as it had been in the case of the Maryland Society. The parent Society could argue and urge but it could notforce the Philadelphia and New York Societies to continue their former relations. As Gurley wrote: "If we cannot have things as we would, we must do the best we can." The result was a compromise, but a compromise in which the associated societies got practically all that they asked for. In July 1834, preparations were being made to send to their colony at Bassa Cove one hundred slaves liberated by Dr. Hawes, of Virginia. The parent board commented; "it now presents the community with the spectacle of more than one hundred freemen, who, but for it, would still have been slaves. And one hundred more are waiting, merely till the parent board, or its auxiliaries, possess the means to place them as freemen in the same company." (149)

As Cresson had been the guiding spirit in the restlessness of the Northern Societies, in their relations with the parent body, so, it seems, Robert S. Finley, a son of the Rev. Finley, who had a leading part in the organization of the Society, was stirring up the Southwest. Of the two men Gurley wrote; "Finley and Cresson both, are excentric and erratic, but will not fail to stir the elements in their course." And, if he said of Cresson; "I have just seen Mr. Cresson and heard only complaints from him for three hours", he could have said the same thing in reference to the directness, if not the duration, of Mr. Finley's remarks. There is some probability that the desire of the Louisiana and Mississippi

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(148) MSS Minutes Board of Managers.A.C.S. July 3,1834.
(149) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. July 3,1834.

societies for independent action, resulted more directly from the efforts of Mr. Finley, but also more or less remotely from the encouragement they received from both Latrobe and Cresson. (150) The relations between the Mississippi and Louisiana Societies, after they withdrew from the status of purely auxiliary societies, were still far from independent, and were of comparatively short duration.

So far was the American Colonization Society from being the creature of, and under the dominance of, the Maryland and Virginia slaveholder, we have seen that Maryland established an altogether distinct settlement; and in 1838, the Virginia Society was on the verge of following the example of her sister State. At the annual meeting of that year, a motion made by the Attorney-General of the State, Sidney S. Baxter, to recommend to the Board of Managers the establishment of an independent colony in Liberia, was carried, though the Board of Managers did not act favorably upon the recommendation. (151)

A third difficulty that the Society had to face during this eventful decade was the financial embarrassment in which it found itself. There was hardly a time, before the Civil War, when the Society's opportunities were not limited by its means. But it usually managed to keep its head above water by refusing to allow its expenditures to exceed its revenue. In 1834 the Treasury was empty and thousands of dollars were due, and there

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(150) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Gales, Natchez, Miss. May 9, 1836. Gurley to Kendall, May 11, 1836; May 16, 1836, June 3, 1836.
(151) Af. Repos. XIV; 120.

was nothing with which to pay. The receipts for the three years, 1831, '32 and '33 were $105,606.69; the expenditures, $115,349.91, leaving a deficit for those years of nearly $10,000.00. The number of emigrants transported during the same period was 1339. (152) The receipts, which had never been as much as $20,000.00, prior to 1830, were $26,583.51, that year; and by 1834, they had mounted to $51,662.95. But, in 1838, they were only $11 597. (153) Of its receipts, in 1835, $4079.95 had been secured as donations; In 1838, the donations amounted to only $2 438.73. (154)

And this was not all. The ruinous practice of purchasing provisions in Liberia on credit, and paying for them by writing drafts on the Board of Managers; the very unsatisfactory and loose condition of which the accounts were kept; the accumulation of accounts, and hence debts with the Liberian merchants, of which the Managers were ignorant; and the want of care and economy in Liberia were among the causes of a debt which the Board estimated, in 1834, to be between $45 000 and $50 000, and which was later estimated to be some ten to twenty thousand dollars in excess of that amount. (155)

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(152) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A. C.S. Feb. 20, 1834.

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(153) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Feb. 20, 1834.
Af. Repos. XII; 28. Ibid. XV; 18.

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(154) AF. Repos. XII; 28 Ibid. XV; 18.

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(155) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Feb. 20, 1834.
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to John Ker, July 25, 1840. #680.

How are we to explain this debt?

Of the several contributing causes, the most important, in all probability, was the absence of men of business ability and experience on the Board of Managers. There has been found no evidence whatever that any of these men were guilty of personal profit. Even The Liberator, which exulted in the debt, could make good no charge of dishonesty against the Managers. But it was a wise warning that Cresson, himself a successful business man, gave, as early as 1831, when he said; "Your Board are so terribly afraid of DEBT, that to save incurring $1000 now, they subject themselves to two alternatives --- starving the emigrants, or being drawn on for $5000 [bye] and bye." (156)

They should have purchased provisions in the United States, where they could be purchased for a reasonable amount, and the Board should have kept itself regularly informed of the amount of the drafts it would be called upon to pay, if, indeed, it allowed the drawing of drafts without its own consent. It should have refused to pay drafts for which vouchers properly signed did not appear. These things it failed to do and, beginning about 1832, its financial difficulties began to grow more and more serious. By 1833, its drafts were being protested and soon its credit was destroyed. (157)

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(156) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Phil. Apr. 12,1831.

(157) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Fendall. N.Y. June 19, 1833.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. T.W. Blight and Gerard.Phil. June19, 1833.

It was too late to correct the mischief already done, but the Managers made an effort to introduce a more business-like system for the future. A salaried treasurer was appointed, and he was to be at all times strictly accountable to the Board. (158)

At the annual meeting of the Society, in 1834, its Managers were called upon to submit a "full and detailed statement" of the origin, rise, and present condition of the debt. Its reply was a very frank statement of the facts above set forth. The opportunities were so great, in 1832, it stated, and the tendency of the Society had been so evidently to bring about the suppression of the slave trade, the enlightenment and civilizing of Africa, the removal of the "positive impediments to the free exercise of the right to emancipate slaves," and to transport to a land where he could be not only physically but also mentally and spiritually free, the free man of the United States, that the Managers had been led to undertake too much, and with too little means or opportunity for supervision. To correct the trouble, it was proposed (1) to enlarge the powers of the colonial council, so that the colonists might select their own officers, make their own laws, and bear the expense of their own government; (2) to offer stock on a loan of $50 000, and provide a sinking fund, to relieve them from their present embarrassment. (159)

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(158) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Aug. 12, 1833.

(159) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Feb. 20, 1834.

Early in 1834, Dr. Mechlin, the colonial agent, resigned. (160) Whether true or false, there had been reports that in the colony he had been guilty of profligacy. (161) And the Managers subsequently reported on his agency with anything but praise. Many of the items in his report were left unexplained, Since 1830, over 1800 gallons of brandy, whiskey, and rum had been purchased in the colony --- most of it, they believed, by Mechlin himself, and used in the trade with the natives. Against this practice the Board entered a solemn protest. (162) Whatever blame for the very poor state of the Society's finances is placed upon the Board of Managers --- and it would do violence to the truth to try to relieve them of a considerable responsibility for it --- that blame must be shared also by the colonial agent, for his administration was exceedingly unbusinesslike. The Springfield Republican probably named the chief causes of the financial difficulty; (1) the Liberian merchants, in charging exorbitant profits upon stores furnished the colonists, and to an amount far beyond the expectation of the Managers, (2) the large emigration of colonists in 1832, when the Society was already beginning to be in debt, (3) the want of practical, business-like management and supervision on the part of the Managers. (163)

(160 MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Mar.6,1834.

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(161) MSS Letters to A.C.S. (Confidential) Gurley to Gales. Phil. April 1, 1834.
(162) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. July 24, 1834.
(163) Springfield Republican: May 17th, 1834.

Early in 1834, Dr. Mechlin, the colonial agent, reported. (160) Another time or two later, there had been reports that in the colony he had been guilty of roughness. (161) And the immigrants subsequently ordered on his account with anything but praise. Many of these items in his report were left unread, since 1830, over 1500 applications already, without, and received in the colony --- most of it, they believed, by Coolidge himself, and used in trade with the natives. Just this, motive to a board entrusted in safe, protest. (162) However plans for the very poor people of the Society's Fine was is based upon the board of immigrants --- and it would do violence to the truth to try to refuse that of a considerable reputation for it --- that the blame must be shared also by the colonial agent, for his administration was exceedingly unsatisfactory. The Springfield Republican, probably quoted therefore, of the financial difficulty; (1) the liberal [illegible], in charging exorbitant profits from stores furnished the colonists, and to an amount far out of proportion of the immigrants, (2) the lack of a signature of Coolidge in 1832, when [illegible] was already beginning to be in debt, (3) the [illegible] of specific, business-like management and supervision on the part of the immigrants. (163)

(160 MSS Minutes Board of [illegible] A.C.S. [illegible].

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(161) MSS Letters to A.C.S. (confidential) Ewing to Gurley. Phil. April 1, 1834.
(162) MSS Minutes Board of [illegible] A.C.S. July 24, 1834.
(163) Springfield Republican: May 17th, 1834.

As a part of the Board's policy of retrenchment to rid it of the debt was the reduction in number of expeditions of emigrants to the colony. But this step was opposed by the Society's Northern friends, who thought that under no circumstances should economy follow that channel. The result was that some refused to give, so long as emigrants were refused transportation, and that which the Board had supposed would result in a saving really resulted in cutting off a portion of its revenue. In the annual meeting of 1835, the New York delegation made it very plain that they were dissatisfied with the business administration of the Managers. (164) And yet the funds of the parent Board were being still further reduced by the fact that the New York and Pennsylvania Societies, in their comparative independence, were collecting funds in the Kentucky and Tennessee country. It was this that called forth the following remonstrance from the Board; "If, in the opinion of auxiliary societies **** the Parent Board, after a toilsome, gratuitous, and measurably successful service of eighteen years resulting in the establishment of a Christian Republic on a heathen shore, can now be dispensed with advantageously to the cause for which it has made such heavy personal sacrifices, and encountered so many obstacles, it would willingly retire from its trust *****; but **** if the continuance of the

(164) Af. Repos XI; 44-45.

Parent Society be desirable, its efficiency ought to be unimpaired; and *** in the deliberate judgment of this Board, the separate, independent action of auxiliary societies must inevitably lessen the resources of the Parent Institution, and its importance in the public eye; **** and finally make the system itself a victim to multiplied objects and disconnected operations. (165) From this date until the reorganization of the Society in 1839, the relations between the parent Society and the associated Pennsylvania and New York Societies were peculiarly exasperating to the parent Board. Extraordinary bills were presented to it by those societies, on the one hand; and on the other, those societies, which had, at the time of the agreement on the independent relations that the two societies should enjoy, pledged to pay over to the parent treasury annually a per cent of their receipts, failed to meet their obligations to the parent Board. (166) The result of the disagreement was a request by the Pennsylvania Society for the reorganization of the Society. (167) The meeting that resulted made proposals which were very similar to the changes actually made at the annual meeting, in 1839.

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(165) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. May 12, 1836.

(166) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Apr. 6, 1837; Sept. 28, 1837; Dec. 27, 1837; June 15, 1838; Oct. 16, 1838.

(167) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. 1838 passim

The unusually small revenue of the Society, in 1838, is to be accounted for not only by the circumstances to which reference has been made, but also to the great scarcity of money after the panic of 1837. The first speech Clay made, as President of the Society, January, 1836, the preceding presidents of the Society having been, with the dates of their election; Judge Bushrod Washington, Jan. 1st, 1817; Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Jan. 18th, 1830; James Madison, Jan. 20th, 1833,--set forth clearly the fact that the Society had not yet given up hope of aid from the federal government, and that a further application might be expected in the time of the Society's need. (168)

But the most interesting effort to bolster up the financial affairs of the Society was an appeal to the people of the United States, signed by sixty-six leading men of the country, and resulting from a meeting held in May 1838. Among the signers were C. F. Mercer; Governor Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts; John H. Prentiss, the Editor; Samuel Wilkeson, New York pioneer and one of the founders of Buffalo; Chas. C. Strattan, later Governor of New Jersey; Ex-Governor Samuel L. Southard, who was at one time Secretary of the Navy, and served in many important offices, state and federal; James Murry Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; William C. Rives, U. S. Senator and Minister to France; William Maxwell, College President, Editor, Lawyer,

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(168) Af. Repos. XIV; 17-18. See also Af. Repos. XIX;369.

and member of the Legislature; Henry Clay, John Pope, of Kentucky, aPresident pro tempore of the U.S. Senate; Governor, and Congressman, John Chambers, of Kentucky; Jno. J. Crittenden, twice attorney-general, and a U. S. Senator; Alisha Whittlesey, of Ohio; and Albert S. White, U. S. Senator and Railroad President. Of the sixty-six signers, thirty-five were from the States north of Virginia, including two from the District of Columbia, and excluding Maryland; twenty-three were from the States, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana; and eight were from Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. (169)

A fourth difficulty that the Society had to face was the condition of affairs in Liberia. Incompetence in the colony was not unconnected with incompetence in the Board. If the Board had provided sufficient supplies and sent them with the emigrants, much of the debt and much of the dissatisfaction in Liberia would never have existed. In June, 1830, Mechlin, Colonial Agent, was in the United States and reported on conditions in the colony. At that time, he urged the Board to make its own purchases of provisions and send them out with the colonists. He warned them that goods purchased of colonial merchants and paid for by drafts on the Society would be at an advance of from 100 to 300 per cent over the cost of the same goods in this country. Agricultural implements were needed; also building tools and nails. (170)

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(169) Af. Repos. XIV; 130-35.

(170) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mechlin to Gurley. Washington, June 1830. (No day date)

Three years later he wrote from Liberia, repeating his request. Each vessel of immigrants should bring also provisions for their subsistence for six months. "The means at the disposal of the Board will thus be economized, and the necessity of such heavy drafts from this quarter be obviated, and a fruitful source of murmuring and dissatisfaction be removed.**** The emigrants pr. Brig Roanoke were landed without one ounce of provisions or other supplies, in consequence of which I have been obliged to purchase of Capt. Hatch." The arrival of the large number of emigrants sent out in 1832 ----- 790, 247 of which were manumitted slaves (171) --- caused the agent much embarrassment, on account of inadequate provision for receiving them. (172) Some of the expeditions contained intelligent and industrious negroes, but these were, as a class, free negroes. Mechlin remarked; "Had we for twelve or eighteen months past received 300 or 400 people of this description instead of the shoals of emancipated slaves who have been landed on our shores, the colony would have presented a very different aspect, and instead of the miserably depressed state of agriculture we should have had flourishing plantations **** " (173) Here was a practical demonstration of the danger of a universal and immediate emancipation of all the slaves in the United States.

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(171) Af. Repos. VIII; 366.

(172) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mechlin to Gurley. Liberia. Feb. 28, 1833.

(173) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mechlin to Gurley. Liberia Feb. 28, 1833.

Between the crossfire of the Northern Colonizationists, who demanded that more emigrants be sent out and that those who were sent out should be chiefly those emancipated for this express purpose, and the colonial governor, who insisted that more provisions should be purchased and sent with emigrants and that those who were sent out should be not too largely of the recently slave class, there is no doubt that the problems of the Board were serious and pressing, especially as the Southern slaveholders were supplying all the slaves the Society could attempt to transport. The perplexities of the situation will be understood when attention is called to the fact that, despite the advice of the colonial agent to the Board, Elliot Cresson, who, if he was ignored, would have stirred up a hornet's nest from Maine to Louisana, in order to gain his point, wrote to the Society; "I would beg that if only 227 are slaves, out of the 800 sent last year, you will from motives of sound policy, keep it out of notice;" and again, "Can you from all sources send 2800 this year instead of 800, if funds are found?" (174)

Word began to come from Liberia, in 1833, that the conditions of the colonists was anything but desirable. Protests came to the Managers from Maryland Colonizationists, (175) and

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(174) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Glasgow, Scotland. Mar.15, 1833. Cresson to Gurley.

(175) MSS Letters to A.C.S. C.C. Harper to Gurley. Balto. Apr.13,1833.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Wm. L. Stone to Gurley.N.Y Mar.19,1833.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. C.C. Harper to Gurley.Balto. Apr. 24,1833.
But, see MSS Letters to A.C.S. Miss Christian Blackburn to Gurley, Clay Mont, Va. May 22, 1833.

from other interested persons. J. B. Pinney, one of the most successful agents the Society ever had, was in Liberia, in 1833, and wrote; "At present it is disheartening to go among the sick. The constant complaint is 'we have no sugar, nor molasses, nor rice, etc. etc. 'We can get no fresh soup, nor chicken. 'Pinney urged the Board to send nine months provisions with each vessel of emigrants. Many of the houses, too, were leaky, he said, and many houses were not ready for occupancy, though they were badly needed. A great deal of the distress, he thought, was due to the selection of an incompetent agent, and one who lacked religion, interest and energy. (176) Very unsatisfactory accounts came also from a number of the colonists. (177) Gurley himself admitted the distress in the colony, and thought it was due in considerable measure to the incompetency of the agent. (178) In a word, this was the darkest hour in the history of the colony. Its darkness was rendered all the more prominent by the fact that it followed a period of great promise in Liberia. Reports

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(176) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.B. Pinney to Gurley. Liberia May 17, 1833.

(177) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Phillip Moore to Gurley. Liberia. May 10, 1833; July 27, 1833.
MSS Letters to A.C. S. Remus Harvey to Gurley. Liberia. July 30, 1833.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. H. Teage to Gurley. Liberia July 30, 1833.

(178) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Fendall. N. Y. Ocf. 4, 1833.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Gales, N. Y. April 17, 1834.

had been coming in of the prosperity of the colonists, and it was believed the time had come when the operations of the Society could with safety be greatly enlarged. (179)

It would be unjust to accuse the Board of Managers of a wilful neglect of the Colony. The minutes of that Board bears convincing testimony to the sincerity and philanthropy of those who controlled the Society. There is no doubt that the distress of the colonists weighed heavily upon those Managers. If, then, it be asked what was the cause of it all, the answer must be that there were a number of contributing causes. The following are suggested as the most important causes: (1) the lack of experienced, practical, business men in the membership of the Board, (2) the incompetency, if not the sheer negligence, of the colonial agent, (3) the insistence of Northern Colonizationists upon a too vigorous colonizing policy, when viewed in connection with the preparations, in Liberia, for receiving immigrants, (4) the importation of too large a proportion of slaves, among the colonists, and (5) the financial embarrassments of the Society.

Finally, among the problems of which it seems important to speak at this stage of our inquiry, is the movement toward and the accomplishment of the reorganization of the Society.

The American Colonization Society was reorganized undoubtedly through the initiative of the Philadelphia and New York Societies.

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(179) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Nov. 22,1830; Feb. 28, 1831.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Wm. A. Weaver to Gurley. Washington, Dec. 28, 1831.

Of those who urged such a change, Elliot Cresson was the leader. Of Cresson, Issac Orr, an agent of the parent Society, wrote in 1830; he "has the patronage of Philadelphia under his thumb, to a greater extent that I dare tell him.**** And woe to the day when that commanding influence shall in any way be broken or thrown aside." (180) From 1830 until the reorganization had been consummated, this belligerent Friend lost no opportunity to tell the Board, in the most direct terms, what he thought of it. He wrote Gurley in August, 1830; "must I believe that there is something in the atmosphere of your City militating against the performance of business according to universal usage elsewhere?" The uncertainty of the Board's plans for sending out a proposed expedition of emancipated slaves, which, at the Board's request, he had put himself to considerable inconvenience to arrange for, called forth from him the following remark; "Your Board give me leave to write to McPhail. What am I to write about? I can form no guess of their intentions.***** You must select your own vessel and relieve me from further anxiety and chagrin. Another such ould bring on a nervous fever judging from what I have already suffered." In the form of a confidential post script, he adds; "By the way what a perverse set you are at Washington.****(181) Again, he wrote; "So little does your honorable and revered Board seem to think it worth while to conciliate the confidence

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(180) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Orr to Gurley. Phil. July 15, 1830.

(181) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Aug. 6, 1830.

and kindly feelings of your patrons **** that I almost despair of ever getting a satisfactory answer to any subject that I may trouble you with." (182) Again, he writes; "I now demand your ultimatum, promptly; or I forever wash my hands of the concern. You pledged yourselves to send 100 on the 11th October. Do you, I ask, intend to redeem that pledge? If so, there is no time to be lost. If not, I will take the advice of my physician, go in the country and leave you to get a vessel when it suits you. ***** Don't forget the sawmill. It is of first importance. The plantation ground ditto. Schools ditto." (183) In 1833, Cresson was in England and Scotland, for the purpose of arousing an interest in favor of Colonization and of undoing the influence of the Garrisonians, who were there painting in the very darkest colors the motives of American Colonisationists. Of this Abolition influence in the British Isles he writes; "****** unless you mean to abandon England ingloriously to these modern Vandals you must turn over a new leaf.********** It is only by laborious search, that I occasionally light upon a straw to keep me from sinking." (184) Upon his return, he refers to Gurley as "that paragon", for having as Cresson says, "denounced me for making complaint,

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(182) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Sept. 6, 1830.

(183) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Sept. 10, 1830.

(184) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Glasgow. Mar. 15, 1833.

after I had in vain implored him to do the cause and myself justice before the British public year after year." (185) But Gurley was so accustomed to Cresson's hyperbolas that, as he commented; "I have become somewhat hardened against them."

As Cresson was busy, in the North Middle States, working up sentiment in opposition to the existing organization, so Robert S. Finley was, in the Western country, exerting a similar, though markedly less powerful influence. Summing up the objections met with, against the methods of the Board, he names them as follows; (1) a want of system and energy, in the Board, in the execution of its plans, (2) failure to send out expeditions at the time at which they had been advertised to sail, (3) failure to establish, in Liberia, a settlement on the higher and more healthful territory, (4) failure, on the part of the officers of the Society, to reply to important communications from contributors, slaveholders offering slaves, persons asking for advice and information and others. (186)

The testimony of these two men contains an important element of truth, but both undoubtedly went much too far in their charges against the Managers. So far as they charged business incompetency, they did an important service in pointing out the need of reform; so far as they charged dishonesty and

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(185) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gales. Phil. May 4, 1835.

(186) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Finley to Gurley. Ohio River. Sept. 8, 1831.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. W. Meade to Gurley. December 6, 1831.

impure motives, their charges fall completely to the ground. Not many men realized the heavy burden that rested upon the Secretary of the Society. A man, who, like Gurley, was admirably and primarily fitted to keep the sections together and inspire in men of every part of the Union an interest in the cause, was not likely to be possessed of those qualities which make an admirable office secretary --- such a man, for instance, as Judge Samuel Wilkeson, who was soon to give new life to the affairs of the organization. Gurley was comtemplative rather than energetic; a thinker rather than an actor. It was his duty to keep up, both through the press, through the agencies, and by his own personal visitations to various parts of the country, an active interest in the subject of colonization; to superintend, from New Orleans to Maine, the collection of funds, the preparation of expeditions, their provisioning, and the collecting of emigrants; the general supervision over the administration of the colonial agent, in Liberia, and the impartial and judicious treatment of so dependent a class as those received into the colony --- all this, and a general supervision of the government of a colony four thousand miles from home, a colony from which much was hoped, both for America and for Africa. All this had to be done, and the Society that attempted it was supported by no endowment, no financial aid from the government, except some very inadequate aid from several of the State legislatures. And the Society was

not even incorporated until nearly the end of the period of which we here speak. In these days of duplicators, typewriters, stenographers, fast mail trains, and a highly developed postal system, we probably do not appreciate the burdens that a man of such position as that occupied by Gurley had to bear. The task of the Abolitionists was to agitate the subject of slavery in the States North of Mason and Dixon's line. The task of the Colonizationists was t conciliate the North and the South, to agitate the peaceable and gradual abolition of slavery and the transportation of the blacks to Africa, and to found on that continent a Republic where freedom could be actually experienced and which would be a model for the rest of Africa.

Reorganization was being talked of as early as 1834. In that year Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, Connecticut, suggested that the active management of the Society be placed in the hands of five or seven men and, to prevent the possibility of their using unwisely their power, that they be made subject to a supervisory body. Reports should be made at each annual meeting, and at these meetings representation of auxiliary societies should be in proportion to the amount of funds contributed to the parent treasury. (187) Dissatisfaction was further evidenced, at the annual meeting in 1835, when a delegate fromthe New York Society made an effort to secure the election on the Board of Managers

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(187) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Bacon to Gurley. New Haven, Conn. Jan. 3, 1834.

of four additional men, two of them aggressive members of the Pennsylvania Society; and by an effort by the same member to secure the passage of resolutions calling on the Board of Managers to reduce their office expenditures. These efforts failed. (188)

Whatever accusations are made, concerning the distribution of seats on the Board of Managers, the only body, prior to 1839, which had an active part in shaping the policies of the Society, there can be no complaint made on the score that the selection of those officers was in the hands of the South after 1836, and it appears there is no evidence that at any time since its organization, in 1817, it pursued a pro-slavery policy. In 1836, the members of the committee which at the annual meeting nominated the Managers was composed of two delegates from New York, two from Virginia, and one from Ohio. (189) For 1837, all five members of the nominating committee were from the north-middle and western States, not a southern State being represented on the committee, (190) although the appointments were made by the chairman, C. F. Mercer, of Virginia. The Managers elected for 1837 were reelected for 1838. (191)

From 1837 to the time when the reorganization of the parent Society was effected, the New York and Philadelphia Societies

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(188) Af. Repos. II; 49-50.

(189) Af. Repos. XII; 12.

(190) Af. Repos. XIII; 35.

(191) Af. Repos. XIV; 29.

pursued a policy calculated either to kill the older organization or to force it to submit. It must not be forgotten that of all the societies in the United States, these two were able to command the largest financial resources. They were powerful enough to secede from the parent Society, and, in cooperation with New England, establish an organization that would undoubtedly have alienated the South immediately from the whole scheme, and it must be repeated that the orthodox Colonizationist was never a sectionalist, never a disunionist. Between 1837 and 1839 these two societies jointly presented bills for the payment of which the parent Society was in no sense obligated to them, and failed to redeem pledges made by them to the Parent Society, for the payment of a percentage of their collections in New York and Pennsylvania. (192) After the reorganization was effected, a referee, himself a citizen of New York, decided every material point favorably to the Parent Society. (193)

In 1837, an effort was made, among the New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland Societies, to agree upon a "Constitution of General Government for the American Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa." The proposed plan was accepted by the New York and Pennsylvania Societies but rejected by that of Maryland. It was

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(192) MSS Minutes Board od Managers A.C.S. April 6, 1837; Sept. 28, 1837; June 15, 1838; October 16, 1838.

(193) MSS Minutes Board of Directors A.C.S. III, 419-22. Af. Repos. XV. pp. 19ff.

then proposed that the three organizations send delegates to Philadelphia for the purpose of effecting a union among themselves. This the Maryland Society refused to do. Instead, it was agreed to send to the Washington Society's office an "Outline of a new Constitution for the American Colonization Society," which should replace the constitution then in force. The Parent Society was requested to send copies of the proposed changes to the several auxiliaries, to be considered by them and voted upon at the annual meeting of the Society at the end of 1838. (194) By the terms of this proposed constitution, the Board of Managers was to be replaced by (1) a Board of Directors, and (2) an Executive Committee. By the old Constitution, the Managers had been chosen at the annual meeting by a vote of all members who were in attendance. By the proposed constitution, the Society was to be composed, not of individuals as units, but of State Societies as units. The Board of Directors was to be a body composed of delegates chosen by the State Societies; each such society contributing not less than $1000 to the parent treasury to be entitled to one delegate, or member of the Board of Directors. Each such society having under its care a colony was to be entitled to ~~ten~~ two members on the Board; any two or more such societies uniting in the support of a colony, comprising at least 300 persons, were to be entitled to two memebrs, each, on the Board.

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(194) Af. Repos. XIV; 287-9.

By the proposed plan, the Board of Directors was to meet annually, when they were to appoint an Executive Committee, with such paid officers (ex officio members of the executive committee) as was deemed wise. The Executive Committee was thus a sort of subcommittee of the Board and was subject to its supervision and authority. By the proposed plan, each auxiliary society was to be allowed to send as many as five delegates to each annual meeting of the Society. (195)

In the meantime there had been a correspondence among leading Colonizationists in reference to the wisdom of making so radical a change as it was proposed to make. Thomas Buchanan, later Colonial Governor of Liberia and already a leading member of the Pennsylvania Society, though that the change should be entire, in so far as the relations between the several auxiliary societies to the parent organization was concerned. "I would have a general Board of Delegates from all the State Societies which were willing to unite for that purpose, with powers of legislation for the Colony, the appointment of officers, etc. but without the power of sending out emigrants which should be reserved to the State societies." He favored the establishment, in Philadelphia or New York, or an executive committee. He thought the Societies that had established independent colonies in Africa should surrender their jurisdiction to a common government organized by the parent organization. (196) Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio,

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(195) Af. Repos. XIV; 287-89.

(196) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Thos. Buchanan to Samuel Wilkeson. Phil. May 10, 1838.

thought that there were changes needed in the organization, "but", said he, "I think we should correct, and not annihilate." of the proposed board, composed of represenatives from the the State societies, to have supervision over the colonies in Africa, he thought; "Such a Board would never form, or if at all, not more than once, or twice. You could not obtain delegates from Louisana, Tenessee, and Kentucky who would meet here or at the East, to attend to the concerns of the Society." It had been proposed also to put the control of the finances of the Society in the hands of the New York and Pennsylvania societies. Whittlesey's comment was; "Such a step would cut you off from the South at once. We want to inspire more confidence in the South, instead of lessening that which we have." As to the location of the central office, for there was a movement to make Philadelphia or New York the Central office, he thought it should be located "at the seat of the General Government, on common, neutral ground. Here the Managers are easily collected together, and they better understand how to harmonize the discordant elements at the North and at the South than those who reside elsewhere." The New York and the Pennsylvania Society must not leave us either. Whatever is wrong must be corrected, and then we must have more zeal and energy." (197) The veiws of Gurley were very similar to those

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(197) MSS Letters to A.C.S. E. Whittlesey to Wilkeson. Wash. June 3, 1838.

of Whittlesey. He called attention to the fact that the movement for reorganization was distinctly a movement of the Pennsylvania and New York societies; that whatever criticism they made of the administration of affairs by the Board of Managers came with poor grace from the very societies which had sanctioned those elections; that the energy of the parent organization had been impaired by the refusal of these two societies, the most able to contribute, to redeem their pledges; that the managers, far from profiting by their connection with the Board, had often assumed voluntarily the responsibility for large amounts which, had they been called on to make good, would have weighed heavily upon them. He favored an early settlement of the relations between the auxiliary and the parent societies, but thought that the central office should, by all means, remain at the national capital. "To destroy the parent Board," said he,"is, in my judgment, to ruin the cause at the South." (198) Joseph Gales, a North Carolinian by birth, who since 1834 had been the treasurer of the parent Society, put the blame for a considerable part of the financial distress of the Society directly upon the New York and Pennsylvania societies, through their refusal to meet the pledges made by them at the time of the agreement by which they pursued an independent policy. And this, he thought, was the chief cause of the widespread criticism among the Society's friends. (199)

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(198) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Wilkeson. Wash. June 4,1838.

(199) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gales to Wilkeson. Wash. Aug. 4, 1838.

During this discussion of the changes desirable in the parent society, Judge Samuel Wilkeson, of Buffalo, New York, and one who may, with considerable justice, be called the father of Buffalo, was invited by the Board of Managers to become general agent for the Society, with power to commission, instruct, or remove agents, as he thought necessary. To him was committed also the supervision of the finances. In short, he was made practically dictator of the Society's affairs in the United States.(200) Wilkeson accepted the task, magnanimously refusing compensation until the Society should be free from debt. (201) He threw himself into the work with an energy uncommon among men but characteristic of himself. Possessed of none of the suavity with which Gurley made friends wherever he went, inclined to underestimate the inspirational side of a movement based upon public opinion, he lived in Western New York, made money, got things done, was a chief among pioneers, and suffered from the gout.

Hardly had Wilkeson begun his duties in the Colonization cause, when Cresson began to complain about the need for reform. "I hope," wrote he, "you will dismiss the idlers at Washington next month and give the friends of the cause new hopes thereby that the mice in the treasury will not eat up all the meal." (202)

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(200) Af. Repos. XV; 6-7; MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Dec. 1838.

(201) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Wilkeson to Gurley. N.Y. July 7, 1838.

(202) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Wilkeson. Woodstock, Vt. Nov. 28, 1838.

Here, as elsewhere, there was an element of value in Cresson's criticism, but it was far overstated. The Board might probably have done well to have dispensed with the services of one or two of its office force, after the cause came under such formidable discouragements, but Wilkeson himself found that the public had been misled in its belief that much further economy was practicable.(203) The New General Agent went to work with a will, however, and reported to the Managers in December, 1838;

> "I have found it very difficult to obtain such agents as are required *****. In some sections of the country the hostility of abolitionists is dreaded. The cause of colonization has been so long neglected, that the societies heretofore organized have everywhere been suffered to die, and many men formerly warm colonizationists ****** are unwilling to encounter the difficulties now presented. Very many believe that the low state to which colonization [has come] is owing to the impracticability of carrying it on by private charity ******. Very many others ***** believe that some radical change in the organization and management **** is necessary to its success." Yet, "Even in those sections ******which have been abandoned to the abolitionists**** I have found that a large proportion of the people are glad to hear once more of colonization and hail it as a great conservative principle that will save our country, and elevate the colored man." (204)

At the annual meeting, in January 1839, the interest was intense. The New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Societies sent delegations that numerically reached the maximum allowed

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(203) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Wilkeson to Gales. N.Y. Nov. 16,1838; Nov. 30, 1838.
See also MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gales to Wilkeson. Wash. Nov. 28, 1838.

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(204) MSS Letters Board of Managers A.C.S. Dec. 10, 1838.

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by the rules of the Society. Besides, Virginia had a full and able delegation ---- her represenatives being C. F. Mercer, Wm. C. Rives, James Garland, Henry A. Wise, and Abel P. Upshur. Of the total number of delegates ---31----New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania sent 17, Virginia 6, and the West 4, the District of Columbia sending 4. (205) The reason for the full delegations is obvious. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had come to bring about radical changes in the organization of the Society. These changes ---- ~~and they~~ undoubtedly constitute the first official recognition, of consequence, of one section as opposed to another, in the constitution of the Society. ~~The changes that were there brought about~~ may constitute the first step made by Colonizationists in the estrangement of the upper South and the ~~Southern~~ Southwestern States. That some changes were needful for the very life of the Society is obvious. That those changes took the direction they did is altogether regrettable. In the first discussion, at the annual meeting, there was no agreement between the delegates from the North-Middle States and the Virginians. A committee, composed of two Southerners and four from New York and Pennsylvania, reported a compromise, in which the Virginians took what they could get, and it was adopted by the represenatives and became, in name, the amended, but in fact, the new constitution. The changes adopted were not so radical as those re-

(205) Af. Repos. XV; 19ff.

commended by the Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York societies in 1837 but they were quite radical enough. (206) The name and the object of the Society were, in the revised instrument, stated to be the same as in the old; but that was about all. It may be well to compare it with the original constitution, on the one hand, and with the proposed one, on the other.

(1) The name and professed object of the Society remain the same in all three.

(2) By the old constitution, the Parent Society was a society composed of individuals; by the proposed constitution it was to be a federation of auxiliary societies; by the instrument actually adopted it was to partake of the nature of both. Every citizen of the United States who paid annualy as much as $1 into the treasury was to be considered a member; byt membership on its Board of Directors, the actual governing power of the Society, was confined to societies contributing certain fixed amounts. Every society contributing to it not less than $1000 was entitled to two directors of the Board; every society having under its care a colony was entitled to three delegates; every two or more societies jointly maintaining a colony of not fewer than 300 settlers, was entitled to three delegates. Any individual contributing as much as $1000 to the parent treasury was entitled to membership for life on the Board of Directors.

(3) By the old constitution, the Society was to meet annually; by the proposed instrument, the Board of Directors was to me t

(206) See below, pp ~~111-112~~. 177-78.

annually; by that adopted, both the Society and the Board of Directors were to meet annually.

(4) By both the proposed and the new constitutions, any State Colonization Society maintaining a colony in Liberia was given the right to appropriate its funds to the maintenance of such colony.

(5) By the new instrument, all sums paid into the treasury of the Parent Society were, after the payment of expenses for collecting and after paying a certain portion of the existing debt, to be applied to the benefit of the colony of Monrovia, where the Colonial Governor was to reside. (207)

To understand how radical was this change, and how completely it deprived the South of even a respectable voice in the management of an enterprise in which it was asked and urged to make continued and important contributions, it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the very first Board of Directors, after the adoption of the new constitution, was composed of 8 members from north of Maryland, 2 from south of the District of Columbia, 2 from the District of Columbia, and 2 from Ohio. (208) A whole section, itself the very center of operations of the Society, deprived of any effective representation in its proceedings, could not be expected to continue to exhibit an active interest. Indeed, it is remarkable how long some of the Southern States did lend their support to the movement that was now in northern hands. For years Virginia, Mississippi, and

(207) Af. Repos. XV; 19ff.

(208) Af. Repos. XV; 27.

Louisiana did important service for the Society. But from 1839 there is evident a new spirit, a spirit that must not be attributed altogether to the rise of cotton production but also to the loss of a hearing in the councils of Colonization.

But, it may be asked; why did not the Southern States pay into the treasury enough to entitle them to an equal representation with the North-Middle States? Simply because of the two facts, (1) the South was not able to make contributions equal to those of the more prosperous section, and (2) no matter how many slaves a southern slaveholder gave away ~~fro~~ for emigration ~~in~~ to Africa, the South was not thereby given credit for a single dollar, in its representation among the directors. The reorganizers of the Society committed a capital blunder, in policy if not in justice, by ignoring this important fact. And then there was that other consideration, to which Whittlesey had already called attention ---- New York and Pennsylvania, and for that matter, all New England, were so much nearer the seat of the Society than were the Southern States that where members of the Board of Directors came from the States they represented the North would invariably outnumber the South in the number of those in attendance. It is sufficient here to say that the estrangement of the South was not due altogehter to economic changes in that section. The South, at least a part of it, began to lose interest in the American Colonization Society before it began to lose interest in the cause of colonization. By 1840, both Louisiana and Mississippi were seriously contemplating action independent of the American

Society, and the basis of their position was that good faith to the South required it. (209) By 1843, McLain, Secretary of the Parent Society, wrote; "*** more than half the South look upon us as a co. of abolitionists only called by another name." (210) And by April, 1852, Alabama had organized a Colonization Society entirely independent of the American Colonization Society, and because "there was in the minds of many an impression that the Am. Col. Society partook too much of the abolition spirit to receive their countenance and support." (211)

Since 1830, there had arisen a great need for the incorporation of the Society. Several bequests had been lost, and some had not been made because of the fact that the society was not a corporate body. After one or two efforts to secure a charter of incorporation from Congress, all of which ended in failure, General Walter Jones declaring that a debate in Congress over the charter of the Society would have divided and agitated that body more than would the proposal to recharter the United States Bank. (212) The Maryland legislature granted it a charter in

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(209) MSS Letters of A.C.S. F. Knight to Wilkeson. Aug.1,1840.#704.

(210) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Dodge. Feb.27,1843.#720.

(211) MSS Journal Executive Committee A.C.S. Apr. 16, 1852.

(212) The Liberator, Feb. 15, 1834.

1831. (213) This was not altogether satisfactory. During 1837 Clay made two efforts to secure in Congress a more satisfactory charter, but again it was refused. Finally, the Maryland legislature, in 1837, granted the amended charter. (214)

A word more as to the finances of the Society. Of those who, in 1838, were contributors on the plan of Gerrit Smith --- i. e. who subscribed $100 per year for a period of ten years --- 2 were from Maine, 1 from Vermont, 2 from Massachusetts, 1 from Connecticut, 1 from Rhode Island, 5 from New York, 2 from New Jersey, 4 from Pennsylvania, 1 from Delaware; 16 from Virginia, 1 from South Carolina, 4 from Mississippi, and 7 from Louisiana; 3 from Maryland, 2 from the District of Columbia, and 1 from Ohio. (215) The total expenditures of the Society, to November 13, 1838, were $379 644. 15. (216) By 1839, the total debt of the Society was estimated by Wilkeson at approximately $70 000. (217)

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(213) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Feb. 15, 1837.

(214) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Mar. 30, 1837.

(215) Afr. Repos. XIV; back cover.

(216) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gales to Wilkeson. Wash. Nov. 14, 1838.

(217) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to John Ker. Wash. July 25, 1840. #680.

All in all, it was not a bright day for colonization, in December, 1838. With a heavy debt, hardly an agent actively engaged in the work, a difference of opinion between the northern and southern branches of the Society as to the best means of giving it efficiency, and a North and West that had been invaded and, if not conquered, at least dumbfounded by the accusations of the abolitionists ---- This was enough, but this was not all. When the New York delegates went back to report they found that Society unwilling to ratify their agreement to the amended constituttion. Wilkeson, who labored earnestly for the cooperation of the Pennsylvania and New York Societies, wrote, in May, 1839; "A negotiation between the Emperor of Russia and the States of Holland in the sixteenth century could not be more diplomatically ceremonious than that between your two societies." (218) Difficulties were real when a man of his indomitable will admitted; "I confess I feel discouraged. **** Can there be any organization that will unite all friends of the cause in support of the Am. Col. Society? If not, the friends of the cause ought to know it." (219)

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(218) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to Rev. Hope. May 9,1839.

(219) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Mar. 28, 1840. #119.

[illegible] III.

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[illegible] realize [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] direct [illegible]. [illegible] "The Liberator," [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] direct [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] said: "The [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] do not cross [illegible]," (1) [illegible] in [illegible] in [illegible] slavery [illegible] ed in [illegible]. [illegible] the more surprising [illegible] fact is [illegible], that [illegible] very [illegible] in [illegible]. [illegible] tine, [illegible] President [illegible], [illegible] advocate of emancipation [illegible], (2) but "The Liberator" [illegible].

In the struggle for [illegible] ive. [illegible] ization [illegible]

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(1) [illegible] IV; [illegible].
(2) [illegible] IV; [illegible].

[illegible]. (7) [illegible]. [illegible] Fre-quently [illegible] er [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] tour [illegible], [illegible] the Harris[illegible]. [illegible] in [illegible] their [illegible] Harris[illegible] the [illegible] "[illegible]-ers, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] live [illegible] ([illegible], [illegible] [illegible]", and [illegible]. [illegible], and [illegible] it was [illegible]. ([illegible]) [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible], and [illegible] a [illegible] favorably [illegible] [illegible]ization, [illegible], [illegible] received [illegible] a [illegible] a day [illegible] in [illegible] in [illegible] detail. [illegible] were [illegible], [illegible]-

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(5) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] MSS [illegible]

(6) [illegible]

(8) [illegible]

[illegible], Jul [illegible] [illegible] (c) [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible], ( ) [illegible] in the [illegible], [illegible] --- [illegible] --- [illegible].

[illegible] briefly [illegible] point [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]; [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible].

(c) [illegible]

The Colonizationists desired to appeal to all section of the Union. They, therefore, were careful not to alienate the sympathies of slaveholders. An important fact which Garrison either failed to appreciate or consistently ignored was that the Colonization Society desired far more earnestly to abolish slavery than it expressed in its official journal. It would have been much more difficult for him to make a plausible garbled account of its attitude, as expressed in all its official records and private correspondence --- and only here could be found expressed its true attitude on that question --- than to have compiled such an account from the "African Repository." (7) A striking example of the method employed is contained in Garrison's "Thoughts on African Colonization," page 149. In an effort to prove Dr. Caldwell, one of the most active founders of the Colonization Society, a proponent of slavery, Garrison offers the following quotation:

> "The more you improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, the more miserable you make them in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges which they can never attain, and turn what you intend for a blessing into a curse. No, if they must remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of ignorance and degredation. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy."

It is true that Dr. Caldwell made the remark as quated; but he followed it immediately, and as the expression of his own view, with the following sentiment; which Garrison omitted from his

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(7) For an example of Garrison's method, see both "The Liberator" for December 8, 1832, p. 193-4, and "African Repository", January, 1833, p 346-7. See also Af. Repos. First Article, March, 1833.

quotation:

> "Surely Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines, --- to cry, peace and contentment to those who are deprived of the blessings of civil liberty. Those who have so largely partaken of its blessings --- who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be foremost to extend it to others."

When Garrison was called to account for this utter perversion of the views of Dr. Caldwell, he admitted he had not read Dr. Caldwell's remarks, but, at the same time, when he should have been content with doing Caldwell, already in his grave, the justice of a frank confession of his own serious blunder, he made an effort to prove by other extracts and quotations, that he had, after all, not done that leader injustice in an estimate of his views. In the latter attempt he ingloriously failed.(8) As a matter of fact, both Francis Scott Key and Caldwell had been active in securing the liberty of negroes taken illegally into slavery into the District of Columbia. (9)

A method similar to the above, employed by "The Liberator," was that of publishing as evidence of the pro-slavery sentiment in the Colonization Society, divided votes at annual meetings, although these votes were expressions of policy alone, and were in no true sense an expression of the views of the organization upon the subject of slavery. (10)

In a number of instances, accusations made had no foundation

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(8) The Liberator: Nov. 2, 1833. Torrey, Jesse: A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the U.S. Phil. 1817. p. 86-7.
(9) Torrey, Jesse: A Portraiture etc. P. 49-52.
(10) The Liberator March 2, 1833; April 6, 1833; Sept. 21, 1833.

whatever in fact. (11) Garrison himself, while on a tour of England, in advocacy of his cause, stated that the American Colonization Society; "Originated with those who held a large portion of their fellow-creatures in worse than Egyptian bondage; that it was generally supported by them; and that it was under their entire control --- that not one of its officers and managers had emancipated his slaves, and sent them to Liberia*** that it maintained that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on condition of instant banishment from the country *******." It was "the apologist and friend of American slaveholders." (12) These accusations are so sweeping in their scope that a refutation of them here would require needless repetition. But, if the positions taken in this study have been successfully maintained, the motives of Colonizationists were utterly misstated by Garrison.

The columns of "The Liberator" were at times self-contradictory. For instance, the issue for September 21, 1833, contained a reprint which required for insertion the whole of the first and part of the second page; it was an account of the maltreatmentof the Northerner, Rev. J. B. Pinney, who the South Carolinians erroneously thought had come to Columbia in advocacy of Colonization. And, the next column contains another reprint which contained an insinuation that the Colonizationists were in collusion with South Carolina slaveholders. Strange treatment of confederates --- that!

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(11) Af. Repos. IX; 201-3.
U.S. Telegraph, July 24, 1833.
(12) The Liberator. October 19, 1833.

Or, again. There was circulated, about 1839, by the Abolitionists a so called "Authentic Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave," which set forth the cruel treatment received by southern slaves at the hands of their owners. Upon an examination into the authenticity of the "Authentic Narrative," it was found th t the pamphlet was a fabrication, and it was repudiated by the Anti-Slavery Committee which made the investigation. (13)

During a session of the Methodist General Conference, in Baltimore an ultra-Abolitionist delegate presented an Abolition petition containing eleven or twelve hundred signatures. When investigation was made it was found that "scores of names were signed twice, and many ****** were *** forgeries, or declared to be so by the parties. Hundreds were ascertained to have been signed to a temperance memorial, and had been surreptitiously appended to this. Whole families *** were subscribed, who declare they had never seen the memorial ****." (14)

Negroes returning from Liberia and bringing accounts entirely untrustworthy were eagerly employed by Garrisonians to set forth the "true" condition of affairs in Africa. (15)

In 1842, an Abolitionist lecturer of Vermont assured his auditors that the Colonizationists were throwing money away, having already made away with more than one hundred million dollars, since 1817. Upon protest from a clergyman who was in

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(13) Af. Repos. XV; 161-3.
(14) Af. Repos. XVI; 350-51.
(15) MSS Letters to A.C.S. B. M. Palmer to Gurley. Charleston, S. C. May 20, 1834.

the audience, the lecturer assured his hearers that his statement was drawn from the official records of the Society. As a matter of fact he had overstated his figures something over ninety-nine and a half million dollars. (16)

An Indiana Colonization agent reported that in that State the Abolitionists were using as an argument against the Society the statement that "the men who are engaged in taking free blacks to Liberia bring back two or three slaves for every black taken out." (17)

Judge Samuel Wilkeson, General Agent of the Society, wrote to a Vermont Colonizationist; "The abolitionists in many parts of the country are becoming quiet. You observe that they have made some statements which you believe untrue but have not the means of correcting them. Those who control the abolition press generally are destitute or reckless of truth, making statements of which they have not the evidence of truth, or which they know to be false. For instance, Mr. Garrison published me last fall as a large slaveholder in Florida. I called on his agent and assured him that I never owned a slave, and requested him to contradict the charge, which instead of being done, the falsehood has gone the rounds of every abolition paper in the Union." (18)

Besides these direct misstatements of fact, the Garrisonians made sweeping assertions that are utterly incapable of proof, but

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(16) M&S Letters to A.C.S. Dr. A. Proudfit to E. Whittlesey. New York. September (15?) 1842.
(17) M&S Letters to A.C.S. B. T. Kavanaugh to McLain. Indianapolis. April 18, 1846.
(18) M&S Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to J. P. Fairbanks. June 21, 1839.

which cannot be refuted except by a consideration of the whole history of the Society. Garrison charged, for instance, that the American Colonization Society "is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery"; "apologizes for slavery and slaveholders"; "is nourished by fear and selfishness"; "aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks"; "is the disparager of the free blacks"; "deceives and misleads the nation." (19)

When the debt of the Colonization Society was published in the February Liberator, 1835, that periodical was exultant, exclaiming: "MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. Debt of the Handmaid of Slavery, $40000." In the same issue, of eight and one-half feet in columns of printed matter on the first page, all but five inches is devoted to tirades against the Society --- an important part of it being made up of garbled quotations from Colonization leaders. (20)

Cresson writes, from Glasgow, of C. Stuart, confederate and warm coworker with Garrison while Stuart was in America, that the latter denounced all those who used West India sugar as "doomed to hell, with damnation for their portion." (21) An Indiana agent reported that the Abolitionist candidate for Governor of that State, who was also a member of the Indiana Supreme Court, in an attack upon Colonization spoke "in a most loose, vulgar, and abusive manner insomuch that the ladies were driven off." (22) Examples of the immoderate, misleading and untrue statements of

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(19) Af. Repos. IX; 105-09.
(20) Af. Repos. XI; 87; X; 356-60.
The Liberator Feb. 22, 1834.
(21) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley, Glasgow. Mar.15, 1833
(22) MSS Letters to A.C.S. B. T. Kavanugh to McLain. Indianapolis. April 30, 1846.

Mr. Garrison's paper are the following; "We are becoming daily more versed in the corruption of the advocates of the American Colonization Society. With all their insolence, they are dastardly." "The records of the Colonization Society are obvious exhibitions of deceitfulness." "As it is at present organized, the American Colonization Society cannot justly make any pretension to justice or mercy, with more plausibility than they could who brought the natives of Congo from their own land." (23) Commenting on the debt of the Colonization Society, the same publication exclaimed; "We have not room for all the speeches that were delivered, but the following extracts (which, by the way, were very misleading summaries of those delivered at the annual meeting) show that the Genius of Contradiction presided on the occasion, assisted by Hypocrisy, Falsehood, Desperation and Folly. The days of the Society are numbered. Glory to God in the highest!" (24) One would think that the Editor would have hesitated in his sweeping characterizations, for in the same paper is contained the admission; "Were numbers necessary to the success of the Colonization Society? It has enrolled upon its list, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, all classes of people, in multitudinous gatherings and multiform varieties. Did it need the sanctity of religion? What theological institution, what religious sect, what presbytery, synod, general assembly, conference, or church, what eminent divine or deacon, what re-

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(23) The Liberator May 18, 1833.
(24) The Liberator Feb. 8, 1834.

li ious periodical or newspaper, has it not until recently counted approvingly on its side? Did it need political favor? It has been appropriated by all parties *******. ** ******. In short, in its ranks have stood, hand in hand, the Presbyterian and the Quaker, the Episcopalian and Baptist, the Methodist and Unitarian, the Universalist and Infidel --- the freeholder and slaveholder ***." (25) It seems not to have occurred to the Editor that an organization which could boast of such a host of supporters is not to be condemned in terms of wanton ridicule and sarcastic vituperation.

A further method of the Garrisonians was to draw in lurid lines utterly untrustworthy pictures of slavery as a system, pictures which fired the minds of the New Englander and exasperated the Southerner, who was perfectly acquainted with the system. (26) On a par with these were the unqualified statements of Garrison that (1) slaveholding is in all cases sinful, (2) it should be immediately prohibited, (3) "If it were evident that only by a short delay, he could be better prepared to receive the boon of liberty, still the slave ought to be a free man now ***." (27)

The Colonization agent had to endure not only this wholesale condemnation of the cause in which he labored but also, in many cases, personal calumny. Elliot Cresson, on a mission to England for the promotion of the Colonization cause, wrote from

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(25) The Liberator Dec. 13, 1834.
(26) The Liberator May 3, 1834. p. 71.
(27) The Liberator: March 7, 1835.

Edinboro; "In no place has the A(nti) S(lavery) party had recourse to more abject means of insult ***. In these assaults, for myself, supported by the consciousness of my high mission, I care not; but if you do not vindicate yourselves thro' me and meet the libels of the A. S. Party, by prompt letters *** the cause must suffer. Let them know that I enjoy your entire confidence, and that every penny received, is religiously devoted to lgeitimate purposes --- for to check the current of benevolence, I found it whispered about that I was without authority from you --- disbursing your funds for my own purposes, and any other means as miscreants deemed most likely to circumvent me." (28) Indeed, he became restive under the continued vexations to which he was subjected. He could not hear from Colonization headquarters frequently enough to keep up such a defensive as desired and, in exasperation, he asked; "How can I fight (for fight I must) if I have neither weapons or ammunition? Must I like the spider spin them out of my own unaided self?" (29)

So reckless had the Garrisonians become in their determination to gain their ends that they resprted to the frank statement of sentiments which, but for the burning question of slavery, would have branded them for all time as traitors to their country. When the discussion between this country and Great Britain, over the northeast boundary between the United States and Canada, was at its height an American negro, Redmond, who was a Garrisonian lecturer and was speaking in Scotland, openly advocated war between the United

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(28) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Edinboro. Mar. 19,1833.
(29) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. Adelphi June 6, 1833; London October 6, 1831.

States and Great Britain, even at the risk of the defeat of his own country--and for the reason that it would bring about the emancipation of the slaves at the South. (30) The British Garrisonians were in accord with this view. One of their newspapers gave this exaggerated view of the slave system in America; "The horrors of the slave system, as pursued in the Southern States, are unutterable; nothing that the wildest imagination can conceive surpasses the cruelties inflicted on the wretched negro victims; and if it were in our power to stir up the spirit of the slaves to rebel against the heartless planters *** we would use that power, though all America was thrown into disorder, and presented one wide field of bankruptcy and ruin." (31) A contributor to Fraser's Magazine, taking his data from a recent publication of the American Abolitionists, urged upon the british the high moral duty to declare war against the United States, with the ultimate aim of freeing the slaves in the South. Taking the Abolitionist statements at their face value, the writer urged that America "holds nearly three million of unoffending human creatures in the most cruel bondage; in a thraldom infinitely worse than Egyptian, Turkish, or Sclavonian. In fact, we doubt if the annals of the human race afford an example of any system of oppression at all approaching to that which is proved *** to exist in "America. The dissolution of the Union was, then, highly desirable, both fro the security of Great Britain's possessions and for the abolition of

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(30) House Report 283. 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 1026.
(31) House Report 283. 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 1026-27.

slavery in the United States. Immediately upon the declaration of such a war, if it were made clear that it was to be prosecuted as a war for emancipation, the free blacks of Jamaica would lend their aid at once. "In one morning a force of ten thousand men might be raised in this quarter. * * In three weeks *** the entire south would be in one conflagration." (32)

The North Carolina Quaker, Jeremiah Hubbard, who was willing to go as far as any man in a rational program for the abolition of slavery, made these observations upon Garrisonian methods; "I would give thee a little specimen of his style and manner of writing; in his opinion of the Colonization Society, he says: -- 'The superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars. 1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3 Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature, without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration!!!' His language to slaveholders, or of slaveholders is, "They are hypocrites, man-stealers; and such as hold offices in the United States," he says, "are guilty of corrupt perjury, and unless they repent, will have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone." This kind of language is not at all calculated to make good impressions on the minds of slaveholders, even of those of whom it may be true, and it is utterly false as respects many who hold slaves --- they would be very glad to have it in their power to put their slaves in a better situation ***." (33)

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(32) Fraser's Magazine (London) : April, 1841. 494-509.
(33) Af. Repos.X; 37 ff.

Hubbard was Clerk of the yearly meeting of Friends of North Carolina, a member of both the Colonization Society and an Abolition Society, though not of Garrison's school, a leader among a group of seven or eight thousand Quakers of North Carolina, who had contributed thousands of dollars toward the Colonization Society, had fought slavery for upwards of fifty years, had for forty years repeatedly memorialized the legislature for permission to conscientious slaveholders to manumit their slaves, had assisted about one thousand slaves to seek their liberty in a free State. And Hubbard's comment is ; "After all this, by the above positive denunciation we are indirectly assailed by the colonization persecutors as liars, cowards, infidels, without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, unjust. Such language, my brethren, is not calculated to conquer enemies, gain friends, soften hard hearts, or convince infidels, even if it were true." (34)

The fierceness and boldness of these Abolitionist attacks were not without tremendous effect. Some of the most consistent Colonizationists of New England were startled by their "revelations." Ezra S. Gannet was one of this class. He had read statements made in Boston by Thomas C. Brown, a former colonist who, having become disgruntled because of the failure, up to this time, of the Colonization Society to pay a claim held against them for lumber that Brown had shipped (35), had been employed as a Garrisonian lecturer to "inform" the New Englanders of conditions in Liberia and of the

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(34) Af. Repos. X; 214-15.
(35) MSS Letters to A.C.S. T. S. Grimke to Gurley 1854. (only year date is given)

attitude of Colonizationists toward slavery. Gannet was wise enough to write to Colonization headquarters for their statement of the facts about which Brown had spoken. (36) The reply was satisfactory and Gannet continued his relations with the Colonizationists (37) In his reply, he refers to the "most unmerited and shameful abuse from violent Anti-Slavery" writers, to which the Society and its agents had been subjected, and of the "extravagance and intemperance of Mr. Garrison." The anti-slavery agitator, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, of London, wrote to the American delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention held in that city in 1840; "I admit that you have completely succeeded in drawing a repulsive picture of the Society, but I do not admit that it gives a fair idea of the reality." (38)

A group of Colonizationist students from Western Reserve College wrote Gurley, in 1832, of the effect "The Liberator" had already had in the College, before Garrison had been publishing it two years. Before its appearance upon the reading tables of that institution the student body had expressed no doubt of the sincerity of the Colonization movement. By 1832, not only students but the faculty were enlisted in two opposing groups. The students comment; "We had always supposed *** that the Colonization Society was friendly to human rights, was the avowed enemy of slavery, an uncompromising foe of the oppressor; and that its ultimate design and tendency was to free the captive ***. We had

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(36) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gannet to Gurley. Boston. June 19, 1834.
(37) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gannet to Gurley. Boston. Nov. 15, 1834.
(38) Af. Repos. XVI; 311-13.

supposed these to be its claims, and that these were incontrovertible. But they are flatly denied in this same land of Ohio, and the institution denounced, as wanting even the common sanction of benevolent design!" (39) It was thus throughout New England and the West. If Garrison caught the ear of some of the most prominent men of these sections of the Union, it is not difficult to picture the effect his clearcut, unmistakable charges had upon the minds of those who accept without deed reflection the sentiments they hear or read, upon a topic so absorbing as that of negro slavery. From Portland, Maine, the report from the colonizationist agent came, that "a prodigious current turned after" Garrison. (40) The Secretary of the Society, after a tour of New England during the summer of 1834, reported evidences of a distinct change of sentiment in New England unfavorable to the Society. Coming as it does, from him, the following statement is not without value, as showing the view taken by Gurley of the motives and hopes of Colonizationists. "Yet," says he, "in the light of clearest evidence, that the American Colonization Society was designed and has been sustained with the view of affording means and motives for the voluntary, peaceful and entire abolition of slavery; that its moral influence favorable to emancipation, has been and is operating most extensively and powerfully at the South, the

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(39) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Hudson, O. Students of Western Reserve College to Gurley. October 29, 1832.
(40) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Portland, Me. A. Cummings to Danforth. February 14, 1832.

anti-slavery men of the North denounce it as the friend and ally of slavery, and attempt its overthrow with more zeal and effort, if possible, than even that of slavery itself. Because the friends of colonization are indisposed to pursue a course which must, in their opinion, put in imminent jeopardy the peace and safety of a large portion of the country, endanger the security and even the very existence of the Federal Government, because they believe that the consent of the South is indispensable to any plan for the abolition of slavery, they are denounced as enemies to the colored race and to the cause of Liberty." (41) There is a good deal of the prophetic in this utterance. If there was any distinctive feature of William Lloyd Garrison's efforts, from 1831 to 1839, it was the alienation of New England and the West from the spirit of cooperation with the South, in the effort to get rid of slavery, to the spirit of antagonism against the South, in the effort to force that section to abolish slavery. If the methods of Garrison, during those years had any inevitable result it was that of replacing nationalism by sectionalism. A generation had not passed away before the surmises of Garley had become regrettable fact. Eight years after the tour upon which comment has just been made, he was in New England again; and this time he found churches closed against him and all those who worked with him; he found the New England public apathetic toward the essentially national efforts of his Society; he found the clergy either cowed into

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(41) Af. Repos. X; 129-39.

[illegible] by the [illegible]nced views of their contributions or they themselves visited on the admin[illegible], if "[illegible]", lecturers, editors, and agitators who visited every New [illegible]land and western town. (43) By 1840, Garrison had accomplished very well one thing --- the consolidation of New England and the then Northwest, in an aggressive sectionalism. Those individuals from the North who had visited the South, or who had resided there, understood that the denunciations of Garrison were based upon a picture of a system of slavery that, as a system, had no existence save in the mind of the leader. (45) But, unfortunately, those were not the days of railroad and telegraph lines, and Garrison and the masses whom he influenced knew little of the real system of slavery that existed in the South. (44)

Public opinion unified and sectional passion excited, the next step in the program of the Garrisonians was to enter politics. Hereafter the fitness of a candidate was to be judged by his agreement or disagreement with their views on the subject of slavery. This step had been reached before the end of the thirties. (45) It was the most dangerous step Abolitionists ever took. It is always dangerous for any considerable section to test the fitness of those political leaders who sit as the nation's lawmakers, on their position upon any issue that is essentially sectional. By 1840, the New Hampshire Garrisonians

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(43) M.S.S Journal Executive Committee. A.C.S. Nov. 25, 1844. 294-307
M.S.S Letters to A.C.S. Boston. S. [illegible] Gurley. December 21, 1838. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Amherst College S. M. Worcester to Gurley. November 5, 1834
(43) M.S.S Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Abbot to Gurley. New York [illegible], 1838.
(44) Letters to A.C.S. Andover Theol. Sem. Moses A. Shelrs. January 12, 1838.
(45) Af. Repos. XV: 194ff.

had so far developed their scheme of coercion as to determine to unsettle all clergymen in the State, who would not subscribe to their views. (46) If we will remember that the mass of the people of New England knew little of the system of slavery as it actually existed at the South, and if we will remember that it was these same people who elected or refused to elect those candidates and those clergymen who offered their services to the State and to the Church, we shall better understand why the very leaders in New England thought were anti-Garrisonians, in 1832, while, in 1840, many of them had gone over to that faith.

It must not be supposed that William Lloyd Garrison and "The Liberator," alone, conquered the Colonization spirit of New England and the Northwest. There were other speakers and other papers --- many of them. It seems that at the Granville, Ohio, post office, in 1836, there were being taken, or were sent, more than three hundred Abolition publications and only one publication of the Colonizationists. (47) The President of the Granville Colonization Society wrote that of 694 periodicals, religious, scientific, professional, and Abolition, emanating from 120 presses, there was but one copy of the African Repository, and no other Colonization paper, taken; also, that "Anti-Slavery lecturers have for several years past visited us every

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(46) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Dartmouth College. Prof. C.P. Hubbard to Wilkeson. May 8, 1840.
(47) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Granville, O. Seven Wright to Gales. March 23, 1836.

few weeks or months; sometimes remaining a week or two and lecturing as often as they could collect a congregation." (48) Gurley, in 1842, estimated the proportion of Colonization to Abolition lecturers to be about one to one hundred. (49) At any rate, there had come over some prominent Colonizationists a radical change of sentiment, and some Colonization leaders became such opponents of the Society as to out-Garrison Garrison. One of these was Arthur Tappan, who, by 1833, came to the opinion that "The Colonization Society is a device of Satan and owes its existence to the single motive to perpetuate slavery." (50) And Gerrit Smith, who had given thousands of dollars to the Society and had expressed his displeasure with the methods of Garrison, was a radical of the radicals by 1838. He had been asked to contribute to the erection of a Methodist church in New Orleans. He refused to do so, and gave as his reason "Suppose I were invited to contribute to the cost of erecting a heathen temple, could I innocently comply with the request? *****Now, I take it for granted, that the Religion which is to be preached in the 'place of worship' which you invite me to assist in preparing is the Religion of the South; and I put it to your candor, whether it is not, therefore, fairly to be considered as an idolatrous 'place of worship'!" (51)

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(48) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Granville, O. J.S. Richards to Gurley. March 28, 1838.
(49) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to R.S. Finley. Dec. 14,1842.#489
(50) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Tappan to Gurley. N.Y. June 26, 1833.
(51) Af. Repos. XIV; 48-49.

Besides the direct attacks made by the Garrisonians upon the Colonization Society and those who were interested in it, that party worked indirectly but very effectively to the prejudice of Colonization by discouraging the blacks from offering to emigrate to the colony. The word "emigration" was replaced by the words "banishment", "expatriation", and so on. Although the records have been examined, not a single case of involuntary exportation has been revealed; but the use of those terms kept many a negro from offering to go to Liberia. The free blacks, who at one time hailed with delight the opportunity of returning to the land of their fathers, began to adopt resolutions in opposition to the Society, and after the thirties there was a marked indisposition among them to emigrate to the colony. (52)

In the South, probably the most effective argument against the Colonization Society was that it was but a form of Abolitionism; in the North and Northwest, that its purpose was to "rivet the chains of the slave." The persistence of those who used these contradictory arguments ought to be well nigh conclusive of the motives of Colonizationists. But hitherto it has never been so. (53) Henry Clay expressed the position of the Society when he said; "Both objections cannot be founded in

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(52) Carey, M.: Reflections ******. p,2. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Richmond, Va. D.I. Burr to Gurley. January 27, 1834. Af. Repos. XVI; 114.
Speech of Edward Everett at Anniversary of A.C.S. January 18, 1853. MSS Div. Library of Congress. Mass. Broadsides. 24th Anti-Slavery Bazaar.
(53) Af. Repos. I; 341-43; VI; 1-25; IX; 228-29; XII; 298; XIV; 17-18; XIX; 182.

truth. Neither is." (54) The pro-slavery slaveholders --- and it is a pity Garrison could not realize that there were actually anti-slavery slaveholders in the South---ought to have understood that an organization that was as persistently opposed by the Abolitionists as was the Colonization Society, could not be considered an advocate of a general and immediate abolition of slavery; and the Abolitionists ought to have understood that

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(54) No more complete refutation of the charges of the Abolitionists who declared that the Colonization Society forged the chains of the slaves, can be given than the following references to private letters written by leading agents of the Society. They contain what ought to be a final answer to those who made, or continue to make, those charges.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.G. Birney to Gurley. Huntsville, Ala. July 12, 1838.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gov. Mechlin to Gurley. Liberia. February 28, 1832.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Elliot Cresson to Gurley. Mar. 18, 1833
MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.N. Danforth to Gurley. Boston, December 28, 1832.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gen. Jno. H. Cocke to Gurley, Norfolk. January 14, 1832. MSS Letters to A.C.S. T. [illegible] to Gurley. Hartford. March 24, 1833. MSS Letters to A.C.S. R.S. Finley--Birney to Gurley. N. Orleans. April 13, 1833. MSS Letters to A.C.S. R.R. Gurley to P.R. Fendall Boston. August 3, 1835. MSS Letters to A.C.S. T.B. Balch to Wilkeson. Locust Hill. October 11, 1839.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. T.B. Balch to Wilkeson New Baltimore. November 20, 1839. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Rev. J.L. Mitchell to Cresson. Liberty. December 26, 1839.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Rev. M.M.Henkle (See Cresson to Wilkeson) February 27, 1840. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Dr. Jno. Ker. (See Cresson to Wilkeson) Miss. March 12, 1840.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. W. McKenney to Wilkeson. Greensboro, N.C. November 6, 1842. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mrs. Mary B. Blackford to Gurley. Va. January 28, 1845. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Rev. C.W. Andrews to Rev. W. McLain. Va. Mar. [illegible], 1843.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Joseph Tracy to Gurley. Boston. May 8, 1843. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Rev. J.B. Pinney to McLain. April 5, 1845. MSS Letters to A.C.S. D.D. Carroll to McLain. N.Y. July 8, 1845.
No effort has been made to continue these reference beyond the year 1845 --- for it is believed that there is no doubt about the position of the Colonization Society after that time. Nor is the above a complete list. It is deemed, however, sufficient to set forth the true view of the Society on the subject of slavery.

an organization that, in 1832, could not maintain an agency in either Georgia or South Carolina, was hardly to be convicted of collusion with slaveholders. (55) Colonizationists believed that a general, immediate, and unconditional emancipation of all the slaves in the Union was impracticable and undesirable: impracticable (1) because there was no constitutional right of the federal government to enact a general emancipation provision, (2) because the States alone having the right to pass emancipation measures, would do so only as the public sentiment of each slave State became favorable to emancipation, (3) because public sentiment in the slave States was not yet favorable; undesirable (1) because it was believed that three millions of negro slaves set free at one time would be unable to care for themselves, and would be more wretched than under a system of slavery, (2) because the so-called free negro was not in any true sense free, and it was believed would not become really free until he was taken back to his native country and there, under the supervision of sympathetic governors, was taught self-sustenance and self-government, (3) because of the danger of a race war in the States of the lower South. They recognized slavery to be an evil. The remedy for it they believed to be gradual emancipation, made practicable through (1) cooperation between the different sections of the Union, (2) the education of slaveholders, (3) and the transportation of those

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(55) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. March 7, 1832; March 14, 1832; March 26, 1832; April 3, 1832; July 11, 1832.

manumitted or emancipated. They hoped and believed that such States as Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee would enact general emancipation measures within a period of time not very remote, and that with these States free, the rest would follow, as the success of emancipation and transportaion combined, was demonstrated. They hoped to exert a powerful moral influence in favor of emancipation; but were opposed to the use of extra-legal means or means whose result might be to involve the sections in civil war, or bring about the dissolution of the Union. The gradual abolition of slavery was not to be an incidental object of the Society. It was to be one of the two direct, distinct, and primary objects: (1) to give real freedom to the nominally free American negro, by returning his to his native land and there encouraging his highest development, (2) to exert the most powerful moral pressure consistent with national peace and unity, in favor of an emancipation, as rapid as practicable, and both universal and absolute. (56) From its origin, the Society used with eagerness every opportunity to secure the liberation of slaves, by offering to transport them to the colony, unless the condition of its treasury was such that it could not afford the expenditure. When slaveholders

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(56) Af. Repos. VII; 49, 176, 200-201; 314; IX; 228-29; X; 148. IX; 188-89; I; 15-16.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. New Orleans. Dr. Jno. Ker to Gurley. April 2, 1832.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. East Attleborough. December 24, 1831.

wrote for advice as to the disposition of their slaves, as they often did, the Society consistently advised the emancipation of those in bondage, unless the case involved some peculiar circumstance. There has been found on the records of the Society no instance in which the organization ever assited a slaveholder to retain the possession of slaves whose right to liberty was called into question. There are a number of instances in which the Society intervened in suits, to secure the liberty of hundreds of slaves. After 1839, the organization became almost aggressively anti-slavery. Abandoning its former position --- the use of moral suasion, to bring about gradual emancipation--- it became, in many respects a moderate abolition Society. During this latter period it would send throughout the land reports on the number of slaves offered to it, on condition that it would transport them, and would directly appeal for funds to secure the liberation of the negroes. It is believed that this is a fair statement of its position on the subject of slavery. If so, it will be seen that the Garrisonians did great injustice to the whole movement and the leaders engaged in it.

The fundamental difference between the Garrisonian and the Colonizationist was this: the Garrisonians approached their task from the point of view of the <u>eradication</u> of an <u>evil</u>; the Colonizationists, from the point of view of the <u>solution</u> of a <u>problem</u>. Of the three phases of the question, the practicability, the desirability, and the method, of the immediate liberation of the slave, the Garrisonian assumed the first two and considered only the third a problem; the coloniaationist recognized a pro-

lem in all three. To the Colonizationist, the difference between gradual emancipation and immediate emancipation was not equal to the calamity of the dissolution of the Union, or an American Civil War, or both. To the Garrisonian, the difference was worth that much. The Colonizationist chose rather to delay the day of complete emancipation than to live to see the day of the division, probably a bloody division, of the Union. The Garrisonian chose the dissolution of the Union rather than the delay of a general emancipation. Whatever difficulty present day writers on the Abolitionist movement have in explaining the denial of Lincoln that he was a member of that party, or, whatever difficulty they may have in explaining his preference for Colonization, they may see, from this point of view, that, taken for granted his paramount consideration of the Union and its preservation, the only logical position he could take was that taken by Colonizationists. Lincoln undoubtedly opposed negro slavery, but the evidence certainly seems conclusive, that he emancipated the slaves, not out of his hatred of slavery, but out of his love for the Union. (57) The preservation of the Union was his paramount consideration; the emancipation of slaves was an important consideration, but nevertheless, it was a secondary consideration. He would have sacrificed immediate emancipation for the sake of preserving the Union. The Garrisonians would have sacrificed the Union for the sake of immediate emanci-

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(57) Rhodes, James Ford: History of the U. S.

pation. In short, Lincoln's position was precisely that of the Colonizationists, and precisely the opposite of that of the Garrisonians. If Garrison's influence in bring about the Proclamation of Emancipation were not overestimated, and if his influence in bringing about the American Civil War were not underestimated, he would be given a more just, if not a more exalted, place in American history.

A well known historical writer assures us, in reference to Anti-Slavery leaders, that "it must not be supposed that **** even the agitators realized that slavery had the latent power of dividing the Union and bringing about civil war." (58) This statement, it seems, is utterly at variance with the facts. Between 1831 and 1861, they were so frequently and so earnestly warned of the logical consequences of their course, by patriots who represented every section of the Union, that those who neglected those warnings must be charged with either a criminal ignorance or a criminal indifference. If they did not see, it was because they had closed their eyes to the light. When Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston, spoke in Faneuil Hall, in 1835, he said:

> "Now, sir, if it were the object of our meeting here to debate the expediency of taking measures for the abolition of slavery, I would regard it as identical with the question of the expediency of dissolving the Union. I am sure it would be so considered by the Southern States. My conviction results from forty years acquaintance with prominent individuals of those States, of all parties, and in all the vicissitudes of party. Be assured that

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(58) Hart. A.B.: Slavery and Abolition, p.3.

> whenever that question shall be agitated in our public assemblies, under circumstances which should indicate the prevalence or the probability of a general sentiment in the free States in favor of acting upon that subject, the Union will be at an end. They would regard all measures emanating from such a sentiment as war in disguise upon their lives, their property, their rights and institutions, an outrage upon their pride and honor, and the faith of contracts --- menacing the purity of their women, the safety of their children, the comfort of their homes and their hearths, and, in a word, all that a man holds dear. In these opinions they might be mistaken, but in support of them they would exhibit a spectacle of unanimity unparallelled among so numerous a population upon any subject at any time, in any part of the world." (59)

"Every effort," said he, "intended to propagate a general sentiment favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery, is of forbidding aspect and ruinous tendency." "I witnessed the adoption of the Constitution, and through a long series of years, have been accustomed to rely upon an adherence to it as the foundation of all my hopes for posterity. It is threatened, I think, with the most portentous danger that has yet arisen."

Judge William Halsey, of New Jersey, expressed his view of the results of abolitionism; "It is time for the friends of Colonization to come out and ********shew the extremely dangerous tendency of their proceedings and oppose by every means <u>except force</u>, mobs, and lynch laws. The situation of things requires the serious consideration of the friends of the harmony and integrity of the Union. We appear to be asleep upon a volcano, insensible of our danger. It may soon burst forth and spread desolation throughout our land." (60)

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(59) [illegible] II; [illegible].
(60) MSS Letters to A.C. . Halsey to Wilkeson. Newark. January 18, 1841.

The General Agent of the Colonization Society, for Massachusetts, wrote, of the doctrines of the ultra-abolitionists: "It was seen by some from the beginning that the leaders of that society were propagating a deep and refined metaphysical system, which must naturally end in the 'no-human-government theory;' in the doctrine that not only slavery, but the state, the church, and even the legal relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, ought to be abolished." (61)

In a debate, in 1839, on the subject of the reception of abolition petitions, Henry Clay said, in the United States Senate;

> "**** the *** ultra-abolitionists *** are resolved to persevere **** at all hazards, and without regard to any consequences, however calamitous they may be. With them, the rights of property are nothing; the deficiency of the powers of the General Government is nothing; the acknowledged and incontestible powers of the States are nothing; civil war, a dissolution of the Union, and the overthrow of a government in which are concentrated the fondest hopes of the civilized world, are nothing. A single idea has taken possession of their minds, and onward they pursue it, overlooking all barriers, reckless and regardless of all consequences. ********** Utterly destitute of constitutional or other rightful power, living in totally distinct communities as alien to the communities in which the subject on which they would operate resides, so far as concerns political power over that subject, as if they lived in Africa or Asia, they nevertheless promulgate to the world their purpose to be to manumit forthwith, ***** and without moral preparation, three millions of negro slaves, under jurisdictions altogether separated from those under which they live. ***** ********** Does any considerate man believe it to be possible to effect such an object without convulsion, revolution, and bloodshed? ********** The abolitionists, let me suppose, succeed in their present aim of uniting the inhabitants of the free States as one man, against the inhabitants of the slave States. Union on

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(61) Af. Repos. XVIII; 369-76.

the one side will beget union on the other. And this process of reciprocal consolidation will be attended with all the violent prejudices, embittered passions, and implacable animosities which ever degraded or deformed human nature. A virtual dissolution of the Union will have taken place, whilst the forms of its existence remain. ***** One section will stand in menacing and hostile array against the other. The collision of opinion will be quickly followed by a clash of arms. I will not attempt to describe scenes which now happily lie concealed from our view." (62)

In Ohio, Elisha Whittlesey, in 1839, openly charged the abolitionists with views hostile to the Union, "as well from the tendency of their measures, as from a sermon preached last year at Braintree, Massachusetts, that went the rounds, as canonical; in which a separation of the Union is hailed as the most happy of all events." (63)

In 1832, C. F. Mercer, of Virginia, gave this challenge to the abolitionists: "Let those who oppose the colonization of Africa, by our colored population, because it is not a scheme for the immediate abolition of slavery in America, justify, if they can, to God and man, their hostility to a plan of enlarged policy, as well as of expanded benevolence and piety, because it does not propose to accomplish all t at they desire, and because they desire to do that which if accomplished, as they propose, would prostrate the fair fabric of our Union, and with it the hopes of freedom to man." (64)

James Garland, of Virginia, said of the effects of Garrisonian abolitionism; "Week by week, day by day, and hour by hour,

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(62) Af. Repos. XV; 50-64.
(63) M S Letters to A.C.L. Caulfield, C. Whittlesey to Wilkeson. November 27, 1839.
(64) Af. Repos. IX; 265-67.

they are creating among your youth feelings of strong prejudice and hostility to the institutions of the South", and he stated in unmistakable terms that aggressive action from the North would be met with a definite, united opposition from the South. (65)

John Tyler, in 1836, said; "Philanthropy, when separated from policy, is the most dangerous agent in human affairs. It is no way distinguishable from fanaticism." Of that form of philanthropy called abolition, he says; "It would pull down the pillars of the constitution, and even now shakes them most terribly***." (66)

The Secretary of the Colonization Society, saw clearly the tendency of Abolition, and he deplored the rashness which prompted it. Nowhere is the real unionist spirit of the Society better set forth than in his letters written to its Managers. He traveled and knew sentiment, in every part of the Union; and he writes from New York, in 1834; "For one, I feel that an awful crisis is fast coming upon the country and that the slave question is to shake the Union. ****** If the mild principles of our Society can (?) in the public mind, all will be safe. But if the pulpit and press of the North is to be enlisted in the cause of instant unconditional Abolition, the whole land will be filled with violence. The signs of the times are portentous." (67) The next summer he wrote from Boston; "That the centre of the nation is to be deeply moved and speedily on the subject of slavery is

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(65) Af. Repos. XIV; 43-47.
(66) House Report #283; 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 961.
(67) MSS Letters to A.G.S. Gurley to Jos. Gales. N.Y. April 17, 1834.

certain. At the next Congress, we should, ***, make a powerful and earnest appeal to the General Government. Nothing can be lost by such a measure --- everything may be gained --- the preservation of the Union, a gradual, cautious, plan of voluntary emancipation, and the regeneration of Africa. Should the doctrines and measures of the Abolitionists predominate in the non-slaveholding States, disunion, if not a general servile war will follow." (68)

The plain, unvarnished fact is that William Lloyd Garrison was woefully deficient in his love for the American Union. To produce conclusive evidence of this, it is only necessary to quote three resolutions offered by him at a meeting of the Essex (Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society, in 1842;

> "Resolved, That the American Union is and ever had been since the adoption of the Constitution, a rope of sand --- a fanciful reality --- a mere piece of parchment --- 'a rhetorical flourish and splendid absurdity' --- and a concentration of the physical force of the nation to destroy liberty, and uphold slavery.
>
> "Resolved, That the safety, prosperity, and perpetuity of the non-slaveholding States require that their connection be immediately dissolved with the slaveholding States in form, as it is now in fact.
>
> "Resolved, That the petition presented to the U.S. House of Representatives, by John Q. Adams, from sundry inhabitants of Haverhill, in this county, praying Congress to take measures for a peaceful dissolution of the Union, meets our deliberate and cordial approval." (69)

If the Anti-Slavery agitators did not realize "that slavery had the latent power of dividing the Union and bringing about civil

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(68) MSS Letters to A.C.E. Boston, Garley to Kendall. August 5, 1835.
MSS Letters to A.C.E. Garley to Sales. Portland. September 16, 1835.
(69) Af. Repos. June 1842. XVIII; 189.

war", it was not for lack of warning from the sagest statesmen of the time.

If the spirit of Garrisonism was the spirit of disunion, the spirit of Colonization was the spirit of national unity.(70) Garrison's attempt to "prick the consciences" of slaveholders ended by hardening, rather than "pricking" them, and the result was sectional bitterness. Garrison broke the bonds of Union; Colonizationists attempted to heal them. The tendency of Abolition was to pull to pieces; the tendency of colonization was to bind together. The Garrisonians believed in antagonism; the Colonizationists believed in cooperation. The Abolitionist slandered; the Colonizationist sympathized. When the slaveholder passed by, the Abolitionist pointed the finger of scorn at him; the Colonizationist called him brother, and sought to help him solve his problem --- the negro problem. The Abolitionist exclaimed, "You must"; the Colonizationist said; "Let's see if we can". The most important unofficial organization in making the Civil War irrepressible, if it was irrepressible, was ultra-Abolitionism; the most important unofficial organization to try to bring about a peaceable settlement of the negro problem was the Colonization Society.

It must not be forgotten that Garrisonians were attempting --- or, what was the same, so far as the alienation of the South was concerned, forced the South to the belief that they were attempting --- to do a thing that was in plain violation of the

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(70) Af. Repos. I; 288; Nov. 1838, 275;
MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. November 20, 1835; p. 19
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to Rev. A. Yates. March 31, 1840. #141.

federal constitution. The [illegible] eminent constitutional lawyers in the United States agreed [illegible] the federal government had no power to interfere with the institution of slavery in those States in which it existed. [illegible] Webster's view was; "In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole North. Congress has no right to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States." (71) We have already seen that Clay's view coincided with that of Webster. Harrison Gray Otis was convinced that the Garrisonians were attempting to ignore the limitations of that instrument. (72) Even the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society contained the admission "that each state in which slavery exists has by the Constitution of the United States the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State." (73) And when it was proposed, in the New York Anti-Slavery Convention, in 1836, to eliminate a clause of its constitution similar to that just quoted, both Judge William Jay and Wendall Phillips opposed the elimination. Jay asked; "Is there a sane person in this assembly, who does not in his heart believe that [illegible] a law (a general abolition law, passed by Congress, instead of breaking the fetters of the slave, would instead dissolve the bands of this Union? The South would not and ought not to submit to a usurpation so flagrant and profligate." (74) And yet, it was

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(71) Af. Repos. IX; 108-[illegible].
(72) Af. Repos. XI; 311-1[illegible].
(73) Af. Repos. XIV; 173.
(74) Af. Repos. XIV; 182-89.

just such attempts as this that led Southerners to distrust the movements of their opponents.

To Colonizationists, it seemed worse than useless, it seemed the height of folly, to make constant and consistent use of slander and abuse, in the attempt to bring about emancipation in the South, which could constitutionally be brought about only with the consent and by the action of the slave States themselves. The Colonizationists were right. The difference between the policy pursued by the Abolitionists and that pursued by the Colonizationists was the difference between the inevitableness of a civil war, before a general emancipation, and the utmost improbability of such a war, before a general emancipation.

The essential mistake the Garrisonians made was in assuming that every slaveholder was a slaveholder from choice, and therefore, might be justly called a "manstealer", "liar", etc. ad infinitum ad nauseam. For instance, the Garrisonian denunciation was applicable to Mrs. Betty Minor, of Virginia, who bought two negro slaves for the express purpose of freeing them and sending them to Liberia. (75) Mrs. Mary E. Blackford, also of Virginia, in her private letters to the Society frequently lamented the existence of the institution in her State. "From childhood I have bewailed the unnumbered ills of slavery. This (the Colonization Society) is the only plan at all practicable, of lessening, or removing them, and fervent is the love and gratitude I feel, to those who like you do much for this great cause." (76) She was

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(75) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Charlottesville, Va. W.D. White to Gurley. April 7, 1839.
(76) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Fredericksburg, Va. M.E. Blackford to Gurley. September 18, 1840.

pained to read in the Garrisonian periodicals wholesale denunciations, for she knew that many persons at the South "make the most noble sacrifices for the benefit of the negro." (77) "The Liberator's" blanket invective was applicable also to Mrs. Ann R. Page, of Virginia, --- then whom not a purer or a nobler spirit lived in the whole of New England --- and yet, a slave holder! This combination was incomprehensible to the Garrisonian. Ergo, Mrs. Page was a "hypocrite" , a "manstealer", a "liar", --- in short, was doomed to everlasting punishment. And yet, Mrs. Page almost wore her life away in anxiety over the welfare of her negroes. Day after day, for years , she gathered them together each morning and prayers were offered, scripture read, and they were urged to lead such lives as their mistress hoped for them. The expense involved in keeping them as she thought they should be kept brought on the estate a large debt. In the midst of her perplexities her husband died and, by the laws of the State, the slaves had to be sold --- one of the greatest trials of her life was to see the law take its course, in this instance. Of her slaves she said; "my purposes respecting these people I hold to be so sacred that I desire not, and even fear to counsel with my dearest and wisest friends, because they would all advise me to relieve myself from this bondage in which I outwardly live, and which, in their kindness for me, they have thought would ere now have ended my days. *** I come to Thee, and look up through the blood of the Covenant for direction in all the affairs of this

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(77) M S Letters to A. F. . H. . Blackford. Fredericksburg , Va. September 18, 1847.

e ta e. And with regard to the freed [illegible] of these people i[illegible], let [illegible] by those things, from my settled purpose of doing [illegible] good." When the day for the forced sale came, the retired [illegible] , dreading the probability that a number of the slaves would be purchased by the slave-dealers present and sent to the States at the [illegible] Southwest. Against this she prayed; and when the sale was over, it was found that although more than one hundred had been sold (many still remaining unsold) not one had fallen into those dreaded hands. The negroes were all to remain near their former home. If this were the place, it would be a pleasant task, to go further into the story of the life of this gifted character, whose treatment of her "people" was known throughout the entire State, and whose life would have been a lesson to any community in which she lived --- even a community composed entirely of Garrisonians! (78)

Taken boldly, as stated by Garrison, his invaded red words were applicable also to General John H. Cocke, of Fremo, Virginia, whose hesitation about sending his negroes, those who were willing to go, to Liberia arose, not from his unwillingness to be rid of slaves but from his conviction that they [illegible] be [illegible] for themselves. And [illegible] a stone mason, a man of good [illegible] and of [illegible] prospects of doing well for his family and for the colony. Ten minutes before the slave ship passed his willingness to leave Texas, his liberty had been at his option. With him were to go his wife and

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(78) See MSS Letters to [illegible] Gill and, Va. Hist. S. [illegible] Page to Gurley. Mary 22, 1851.
Am. Repos. XXI; 296-301.

six children. (79) While the head of the house was interested in the colonization of his blacks, the mistress, no matter how many visitors had come to enjoy her hospitality, every day gathered the children of her "people" for instruction, while a pastor was employed to give religious instruction to their parents. (80) Finally, the all persuasive character of Garrison's criticism covered the case of Miss Mary C. Moore, of North Carolina, who was not only willing but anxious to liberate her eight or ten negroes, and pay the expense of their transportation to Liberia, although her needle was her only means of support, when the slaves were gone. A citizen of her community, who was unwilling to see her bear this expense, asked a pointed and significant question; "Do you know of any abolitionist who will take these slaves and send them to Liberia, or place them in a state of freedom, in any of the States in which it is permitted to emancipate, or in which free colored persons may reside? Miss M. will cheerfully yield her right to such individuals. But she prefers Africa." (81)

Insofar as the Abolitionists opposed the system of slavery, there can be no doubt that they did a great service to the cause of human freedom; but when this opposition took, as it continually did among the Garrisonians, the form of intemperate and untrue pictures of the system, and when it was distinctly applied in terms of personal abuse and slander to every man or woman in the South who owned a single slave, it tended more and more not only

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(79) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gen. J.H. Cocke, Sr. to Gurley. Bremo. March 31, 1833.

(80) MSS Letters to A.C.S. S.B.S. Bissel to McLain. Greenwich, Conn. February 15, 1845.

(81) MSS Letters to A.C.S. T.P.Hunt to Gurley. Wilmington, N.C. June 17, 1834. see also Af. Repos. XVI: 263-64

to make a general and peaceable emancipation an utter impossibility, but also to result in the enactment of measures more stringent than ever, by State legislatures, against the privilege of emancipating; and it was probably the means of preventing many a negro from securing his emancipation at the hands of his owner. It thus resulted in precisely that which the Garrisonians professed to oppose --- "If it were evident that only by a short delay, he could be better prepared to receive the boon of liberty, still the slave ought to be a free man now." (82)

It must not be supposed that the writer is unmindful of the fact that during that important decade beginning with 1830, there was going on in the lower South a most important change of sentiment on the whole question of slavery, and that this change must not be too largely attributed to resentment that resulted from Garrison's methods. That change of sentiment was due, in great measure, to the rapid development of the Southwest and the increase in cotton production. Laborers were needed; the soil was, much of it, virgin and fertile; negro labor seemed admirably suited to the cultivation of cotton. The economic wastefulness of the slave system was not yet duly appreciated. The result the internal slave trade between the upper and the lower South. Professor Dew's contribution to the "Pro-Slavery Argument" is indicative of this profound revolution in the attitude of the South, toward both negro slavery and the Colonization Society. The Society made an effort to counteract the influence that Professor Dew's essay was undoubtedly beginning to have. Jessie

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(82) See below. p. 130.

Burton Harrison, of Virginia, who was then living in New Orleans, wrote his "Review of the Slave Question" after correspondence with and the cooperation of the most important officials of the Colonization Society, who gave him every encouragement. Harrison states the burden of his essay to be "to show the necessity of her [Virginia, in particular, and the South, in general] promptly doing something to check the palpable mischiefs her prosperity is suffering from slavery. We design to show that al her sources of economical prosperity are poisoned by slavery, and we shall hint at its moral evils only as they occasion or imply destruction to the real prosperity of a nation." (83) He undertook to show that "an improving system of agriculture cannot be carried on by slaves"; that no soil, except the richest can be profitably cultivated by slaves, and even then only if its fertility is inexhaustible; that slaves are unfit to develop manufactures, one of the needs of the South; that "slave labour is, without controversy, dearer than free"; and that slavery discourages immigration.

He further declared that "Virginia possesses scarcely a single requisite to make a prosperous slave labour State". "We state as the result of extensive inquiry, embracing the last fifteen years, that a very great proportion of the larger plantations, with from 50 to 100 slaves, actually bring their proprietors in debt at the end of a short term of years ***".

Undoubtedly Dew's Essay had far more influence than did that of Harrison. The effort, in this study, is not to minimize the importance of the change that came over the South as a result

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(83) Harrison: Review of the Slave Question; 9-15.

of economic conditions, or to exaggerate the influence of the Garrisonians, but rather to compare the methods used by Colonizationists and Garrisonians and to set forth that, while both were positively opposed to the slave system, the methods of the latter were pregnant with serious mischief, while those of the former were indicative of a farsighted statesmanship.

Dr. S. M. E. Goheen, the Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Liberia, said in 1838; "Having been educated in a non-slaveholding State, I was daily taught to look upon the man who held slaves as a monster scarcely human, and at all times to regard those engaged in or holding slaves as participating in crimes of the deepest dye; and notwithstanding I have resided in one, and traveled in several slave States, and never beheld the shade of a shadow of an attempt at the cruelties said to be practiced (daily) upon the slaves, yet it was impossible for me to overcome early prejudices, or to believe anything else than that slavery as there practiced, was the greatest evil in the States, or in the world, which I now very much doubt." (84)

Instead of the methods used by the Garrisonians, the employment of statements untrue, in point of fact, and foolish, in point of policy, the Colonizationists came much nearer the true statement of conditions in the slaveholding States and nearer securing the cooperation of the South in a gradual emancipation, by the employment of more accurate statements. This is well exemplified in a letter written by Gurley, while in England, in 1841;

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(84) Af. Repos. XIV; 364-65.

"I will not question the Honesty and benevolence of the great body of English and American Abolitionists, yet I regard many of their writings and proceedings as unjust to the public of the United States, particularly to the slaveholders, and pernicious in all their tendencies. No one can more desire than the writer to see modification and amendment of the legal codes of the slaveholding States, in favor of the slaves. Atrocious crimes and cruelties are doubtless occasionally committed, in those States, on the persons of slaves. ***** Generally (and I speak from personal observation and inquiry in nearly all the Southern States of the American republic,) the citizens of those States are kind, humane, generous, and, in proportion to the whole population, equal to that found in most parts of Christendom, devout and exemplary Christians. No better friends have the slaves in any part of the world than are to be found in those States Cases of harsh treatment, of severe punishment, of wanton disregard of their feelings, of the voluntary and cruel rupture of their domestic ties, of withholding **** the necessaries of life, or denying to them opportunities to hear Christian instruction and worship God, are not common; they are exceptions, not the rule. Liabilities to evil in the system of slavery are great; trying separations and wrongs among the slaves frequent, yet many laws which darken the statute books of the slaveholding States are in practice nearly, if not quite, obsolete; and humanity and religion are exerting a mighty and increasing influence for the protection and good of this dependent people.

"Many, very many, masters and slaves are bound together by the ties of mutual confidence and affection. A large proportion of the slaves exhibit an aspect of comfort, contentment, and cheerfulness. There is much to regret, much to condemn, fearful evils which are perhaps never brought to light, in the system of slavery; yet all things (the very heavens themselves, as some would represent) are not wrapt in gloom. It is not to diminish the general sense of injustice as well as impolicy of slavery, viewed as a permanent system, that I thus write, nor that I would lessen the moral powers that are working for its abolition, but in reference to truth, and because he is blind who sees not that injustice to the master is injury and a crime against the slave. He who bears false witness against me, and seeks to destroy my reputation, must not expect to be my counsellor. If the abolitionists of New England and Old England have no influence among American slaveholders, and little with the citizens generally of the United States, to their errors in principle, and more to their faults and offences in practice, must they trace the cause." (85)

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(85) House Report 283. 27 Cong. 3 Sess. 1024-25.

Now, as to the results of these two distinct methods, the Abolition method of antagonism and abuse, and the Colonization method of cooperation and sympathy, of bringing about, the one the immediate, and the other the gradual abolition of slavery. And, first, the result, on the public opinion of the United States.

Dr. John Ker, one of the most preminent colonizationists in the South, who almost singlehanded succeeded in defending the right of individuals of that State to emancipate their slaves when they were willing to send them to the colony, when the State legislature was about to enact a very radical measure denying that right to a slaveholder who offered upwards of three hundred slaves to the Society, (86) wrote, in 1831; "The greatest difficulty we have to encounter is the jealousy of Northern interference, and of what the world thinks proper to call, 'religious fanaticism." What, with you and me and all Christians would constitute the highest motive to exertion in this course, would only tend in Louisiana, (if urged at all), to paralyze and destroy the force of other motives, which fortunately are sufficient. I have myself received permission to use the names of some of the most influential men in the State; but it is difficult for you to conceive how essential it will be to present and great success, to avoid most scrupulously, anything which could excite the morbid sensibility of slaveholders and Southern men by jealousy of our Northern Brethren." (87) Or, let those who still believe, that there existed between the Colonization Society and the slave-

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(86) Af. Repos. XVIII; p. 99ff.
(87) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Natchez, Miss. Dr. John Ker to Gurley. Novermber 24, 1831.

holders of Virginia a collusion whose object was the perpetuation of slavery, read the following comment upon the result of Garrisonian methods. A careful perusal of the quoted extracts from this private letter of a prominent Virginian ought to carry some weight, in our views relative to (1) the supposed tendency of the Society to "rivet the chains of the slaves", (2) the views of active Southern Colonizationists on the subject of emancipation, (3) the methods advised by these men to bring about emancipation, (4) characteristics of the Southern temper on the whole subject of slavery, (5) the effects of Garrisonian abuse.

> "It is a great mistake to suppose that the people of our State generally will shrink from ***** discussion, or are too sensitive to permit it. On the contrary, I believe a very large proportion of the people, are willing to enquire into the merits of the slave system, and that many have their minds open to conviction upon the subject. Such violent tirades, however, as those issuing from the Anti*slavery presses of the North are calculated to do infinite mischief to the cause, and to rivet with a double bolt, the bonds they are intended to lose. You know that no man is more opposed to slavery than I am and have been for years. It is not, therefore, that any of their declamations about cruelty, manstealing, etc. has any effect on me, that I deplore their course, but I confess I am vexed to think that we, who entertain opinions averse to slavery here, who are ready and willing upon all proper occasions to assert and act upon them, who are perfectly acquainted with the subject, and with the temper of the people in this matter, should see all our hopes of finally eradicating this evil, spoiled and marred by the intemperance and folly, not to say wickedness, of those who are perfectly ignorant of the subject, its difficulties and dangers, but who ruin our chance of influence, by professing a common object with us. The object of all discussion on this subject, to do good here, should be, not to render the slaves discontented but to shew to the whites, of all classes, the baneful effects of the system upon them. It is perfectly obvious that slavery is a subject placed beyond the control of the General Government. It would therefore avail but little, so long as this Government lasts, if every man north of Mason and Dixon's line were deeply impressed with the impolicy, cruelty, injustice, or barbarity of slavery. That could not emancipate one wretch from bondage. "Emancipation" can never be effected

without the consent of the slaveholders, and this can never be obtained by either abuse or threats. What we want is temperate argument, going to shew, the evils of slavery to ourselves, our posterity, and our country; the superiority in cheapness, convenience, and efficacy of free labor; then that the condition of the slave as well as the master would be improved by emancipation, and pointing out a mode in which this can be done safely without upturning at once all the foundations of society. Satisfy our people on these points and you will have thousands of converts to emancipation." "The fact is ***** [abolition fanaticism] *** paralizes our efforts. No friend of emancipation amongst us, cares to open his mouth on the subject, for fear of being branded as an ally of Garrison, and of doing evil instead of good to the cause he would advocate." (88)

Another Virginian, who would certainly not be included among her preslavery citizens, said of the Garrisonians; "*** upon no other point connected with slavery have I ever known such unanimity in Virginia. The feeling of all of every age, that think about it, is this: It is a subject with which you shall not interfere; except indeed by scolding and calling names at the distance of three hundred miles; and that if, through the just judgment of Providence on our land, you shall ever get Congress to act on this subject, that moment the Union is dissolved." (89) Colonel Addison Hall thought, in September, 1835, that the reaction against abolition excitement had become so strong in Virginia that "it paralizes all effort. It would not only be unsuccessful, but attended with personal danger." (90) James Garland a congressman from the same State, and who had in former years been an interested colonizationist, was driven, by the exaggera-

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(88) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Edward Colston. to Gurley. Martinsburg, Va. July 9, 1833.
(89) MSS Letters to Washington City Col. Sec. W.M. Atkinson to Polk. Wash. D. C. January 27, 1834.
(90) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Richmond, Va. Col. A. Hall to Gurley. September 3, 1835.

tions of Garrisonians, to become an opponent of even colonization. In later years he resumed his interest in the Society, but against every Garrisonian effort he stood distinctly pledged.(91) And his position on the subject of slavery became violently anti-Garrisonian. A Methodist minister, of New Orleans, in 1838, wrote that the reaction against ultra-Abolitionism had had a distinctly harmful effect upon the comfort of the slave, and had been destructive of sentiment favorable to emancipation. The results of the efforts of Colonizationists had been favorable to emancipation. (92) Francis Scott Key thought that both the free negro and the slave, in all the middle States had been subjected to additional restraints directly as a result of the efforts of the Abolitionists. The efforts of these agitators he characterized as "most unfortunate." (93) Elliot Cresson wrote from New Orleans; "**** so morbid is the South from the recollection of abolitionism, that it is scarcely credible how little will excite a storm." (94) There was a widespread complaint among the Colonization agents of the South, and among active Colonizationists of that section, that this anti-Garrison feeling hadbecome so strong and so dangerous that the South had not only become less considerate of its slaves, but it had also begun to confuse abolition and colonization, looking upon the latter as "the A. B. C. of Abolition." Thousands of southerners were undoubtedly driven to an extreme pro-slavery position as a result of Garrison's efforts. (95)

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(91) Af. Repos. XIV; 43-47.
(92) Af. Repos. XIV; 48-49.
(93) Af. Repos. XV; 113-25
(94) MSS Letters to A.C.S.Cresson to Wilkeson. N.Orleans. April 25, (1840)
(95) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Judge Wilkeson to Rev.T.B. Barto, March 27, 1840 #100. MSS Letters to A.C.S. New Bern, N.C. W. McKinney to McLain. April 15, 1840.

MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.B. O'Neall to Wilkeson.Springfield, S.C. March 6, 1841.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Wm. Crabtree to Wilkeson. Savannah, Ga. March 10, 1841.
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to R.S. Marvin. February 7, 1842.#582

Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, and Roger M. Sherman, of Connecticut may be taken as men of standing and influence in the sections from which they came. Both admitted the sincerity of the Garrisonians and at the same time both deplored the impolitic and injurious efforts that those abolitionists were making. Sherman was invited to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention, in Albany, in 1839. In his refusal to be present Sherman expressed very clearly his view; "Had the Rev. Dr. Edwards, and others, who publicly espoused measures of emancipation adopted in Connecticut soon after the Revolutionary War, called slaveholders Man-Stealers, in staring capitals *** would it not have excited, in the Northern Yankees, more of resentment than conviction, and less of compliance than opposition? The Southern people have felt, and to a great degree, justly, that the Abolitionists of the North were addressing their fears; and not merely their understandings or consciences. They have been addressed in terms of opprobious criminations rarely softened by the language of respect. This has made them inaccessible, *** and has, I fear, put off emancipation for at least half a century ******. Could a missionary, thus addressing civilized heathen, hope for a favourable audience?" (96)

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(96) Af. Repos. XV; 242-44. See also
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mathew Carey to Gurley. Phil. December 22, 1829.

As representatives of the West, both Henry Clay and Elisha Whittlesey thought that the Garrisonians had done incalculable injury to both the white man and the slave, and even to the free negro. (97) A colonization agent, Rev. M.M. Henkle, working in Ohio, summed up the results of abolitionism as follows; "*** contributing say $50 000 pr. annum to inflame the passions of the North, wake the resentments of the South, fetter more firmly the bonds of the slave, and strain the tender ligaments of the political Union, to the last stretch of endurance ****." (98)

The most conclusive and interesting proof that Colonization had an influence beneficial and pronounced, upon public sentiment at the South, and praticularly upon slaveholders, is contained in a study of emancipations that were brought about by the influence of the Society. (99) But --- and right at this point contemporary writers have failed to do justice to the Society, in their estimates of its importance --- the effect upon public opinion is not to be measured, alone, in the number of emancipations effected or the size of the colony established. By far the most important influence the organization exerted, prior to 1845, was its influence upon public opinion on the question of slavery. That influence was positive but it was in great measure intangible and immaterial and is with the greatest difficulty susceptible of

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(97) Af. Repos. XII; 10-12.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Whittlesey to Wilkeson. Canfield, O. March 16, 1840.
(98) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cincinnati. O. Henkle to Gurley. June 18, 1838.
(99) See Chapter, below, on "Colonization and Emancipation." passi

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material evaluation. From 1831 to 1863, the Garrisonians preached a general emancipation. In 1863 a general emancipation was brought about. Therefore, say we, the Abolitionists brought about the emancipation of slaves. How prone we are to confuse sequences and consequences! Lincoln liberated the slaves in order to save the Union; not to conform to any program laid down by the Abolitionists. Undoubtedly it was that profound and noble Sentiment that no man has, as a matter of principle, the right to own his fellow man, that exerted a leading influence upon the mind of that great statesman; but that this was brought about either by Mr. Garrison himself, or any of those who were unfortunate enough to be afflicted with a like temperament, it would be very difficult to demonstrate. Garrison's part in bringing on the war is much more conspicuous than his part in bringing on the emancipation of the blacks. And yet, because they had been freed, and because for thirty years Mr. Garrison insisted that they should be free, both students and the public have heaped upon Mr. Garrison the benedictions of a people made happy, being delivered, in great measure, from the weight of a millstone. In the history of Colonization there exists no sequence such as this of which we have just spoken. Therefore, say we, the consequence of Colonization was nil. When we learn to measure the value of a mighty, though unsuccessful, effort to breathe the breath of national life into a rapidly dissolving people; to bind the breaking ligaments of national unity; to inject a spirit of brotherhood into the aching members of a body politic sick almost unto death with sectional enmity; to counteract with a

spirit of kindly cooperation the virus of Northern passion and of Southern self-interest; to extract the thorn in the flesh, without bringing upon the victim the horrors of civil strife; to apply the tonic of confidence and friendly inter-course to revitalize a conglomeration of feverish localities; to help save a nation's life --- when we learn to measure tha, we shall come to see the results of the Colonization movement, not so much in the light of the few thousand slaves liberated through its efforts, nor of the little nation planted on the coast of Africa, but as one of the noblest protests against sectional narrowness, one of the noblest expressions of American nationality, one of the finest efforts to preserve those respective quantums of power to the nation and to the States, as the fathers intended they should be preserved, that American history affords. If the Colonization movement is to establish its quo warranto by furnishing a list of slaves whose emancipation it secured, why not call on Mr. Garrison for a similar list? The Colonization cause would not suffer by the comparison. Or, if the Colonization Society is called on for a report on its financial operations and for the value to the public of the financial expenditure, let Mr. Garrison account for more than the Republic of Liberia. Or, if both are to be measured in terms of their effect upon public opinion, let the feeling of unity inspired by the Colonizationists be placed beside the anti-slavery and anti-union tendencies of Garrisonism. If we desire to know the material results of one, let us ask also for the material results of the other. Let both be measured in terms of a common

denominator. And let it not be forgotten that a nation wide movement, with a noble aim, is a national asset, no matter whether it ends in failure or success.

That, between 1830 and 1840, the Colonizationists were drawing public sentiment, from New Orleans to Vermont, to a common view of the best solution of the whole negro problem, there is abundant evidence. In 1832, Dr. John Ker reported a large part of the most prominent political figures of Louisiana favorable to the colonization mode of dealing with slavery and the free negro. (100) In the same year, the Colonizationists were making their way into the confidence and were gaining the support of important officials in Virginia. (101) In 1834, there were still citizens of Vermont who were willing and anxious to meet their brethren from New Orleans, and settle the slavery question on the terms proposed by the Colonizationists. (102) In 1837, a joint committee of the Illinois legislature unanimously approved the colonization method, as had the officials of Louisiana and the citizens of Vermont. The Colonization societies, in their opinion, "were silently, but surely winning their way upon public opinion, and entwining powerfully around the affections of the people." As to the Abolitionists, they "have forged new irons for the black man, and added an hundred fold to the rigor of slavery. They have scattered the firebrands of

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(100) MSS Letters to A.C.S. N.Orleans. Dr. Ker to Gurley. April 4, 1832.
(101) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Petersburg, Va. Atkinson to Gurley. July 27, 1832.
(102) Af, Repos. X; 148.

discord and isunion among the different states of the confederacy." The Colonization scheme their choice. (103) In 1838, the Southern Literary Messenger was satisfied with the Colonization scheme, as being the "juste milieu," --- "the broad platform upon which the friends of this unhappy race may meet in soberness and safety. (104) And, in 1840, the committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature, to which the matter had been referred, reported colonization to be, in their opinion, "the only mode by which an equality of rights can be secured to that unfortunate race (the negro)." (105)

Next, as to the results of Abolition and Colonization upon those religious bodies whose influence and organization extended throughout the Union. It has already been seen that before the rise of Garrisonism, there was great unanimity of sentiment in favor of Colonization among nearly all religious denominations. Again and again the Methodist church passed resolutions in its national gatherings warmly recommending the cause to the attention of its ministry. The same was true of the Presbyterian and of the Baptist churches. But, as it has also been seen, one of the most significant changes of sentiment brought about by Garrison's efforts was the change in the position New England churches took, between 1831 and 1845. In 1831, public opinion was being led by sentiment in the churches; in 1845, public opinion was leading sentiment in the churches.

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(103) Af. Repos. XIII; 109-11.
(104) Af. Repos. XIV; 308.
(105) Af. Repos. XVI; 136-37.

A study of the division of the Methodist church, 1844-45, is of peculiar interest as exhibiting this change of sentiment that had been going on at the North. In 1834, a Methodist Conference, sitting at New Haven Connecticut, recommended the Colonization movement, and deplored the opposition of the Abolitionists, as "directly calculated to injure the best interest of colored men, whether bond or free", and also calculated to have the "most unfavorable results" upon the progress of Christian principles. (106) And yet, just ten years later, the organization of the Methodist church was rent in twain, and the territory from Maryland to the Gulf of Mexico came under the jurisdiction of the Southern Methodist Church. There has been much discussion upon the causes of that division; but the leading cause seems to the writer to be almost obvious, when viewed in the light of the attitude each section of that church took toward the Abolition and Colonization societies. It is universally admitted that the question of slavery was almost the sole cause of the disruption of that church. But, was it the attitude of the northern Methodists or of the Southern Methodists that brought about the division? In 1834, united Methodism was very favorable to the Colonization scheme. In 1845, the Southern Methodists were still favorable to it; but the northern Methodists had come so far under the influence of Garrison, or they had been so far carried away from their position of ten years before by the tide of public senti-

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(106) Af. Repos. X; 127.

pent, that, either because the majority of northern Methodists had become Garrisonian or at least aggressively Abolitionist, or else because so strong a minority of them had gone over to that party that they forced the northern majority by a threat of secession from them they secured the passage of a resolution whose effect was practically to suspend a southern Bishop wh had inherited two slaves. The fact is that the Southern Methodist Church, in 1845, maintained, 1835; but the northern section of Methodism had been borne away on the tide of Abolitionism. Whatever may be said about the legal forms that that separation took, and whether by the acts of separation the Southerners seceded from the general body or the general body seceded from the Southerners, or whether the separation was completely by agreement--- neither church seceding, but both agreeing peaceably to separate --- it is nevertheless a matter of fact that in terms of ultimate and real causes, the northern Methodists changed radically their views while those of the southern Methodists remained practically what they had been in 1834. In 1835, northern and southern Methodists, both, were, as a body, opposed to radical Abolitionism. In 1845, the Southern Methodists were still opposed to it; while the majority, or a commanding minority of the Methodist of the north had become favorable to it. In 1835, northern and southern Methodists warmly recommended the Colonization Society. In 1845, it was the Southern church that warmly recommended it. That year the Mississippi Conference of the Southern Methodist Church unanimously adopted a resolution commending the cause of Colonization. (107)

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(107) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.B. Pinney to McLain. N. Orleans. December 13, 1845; December 14, 1845.

Northern Methodists had been drawn away from their former ground by the tide of public sentiment; southern Methodists remained where they had stood ten years before. And Geo. F. Pierce, later Bishop Pierce, was right in declaring at the General Conference of 1844; "The difficulties are with the New Englanders. They are making all this difficulty ******." (108) Indeed, the northern section of the church had gone so rapidly to the position of the Abolitionists that they were ahead of the regulations of their book of discipline. There had been no discipling rule adopted by which a slaveholding bishop could be suspended from the exercise of his functions; and the resolution of suspension was adopted largely, it seems, as a matter of expediency, to prevent the secession of the whole of New England Methodism. (109) Either because of its own convictions, or to save to itself New England Methodism, the Methodist Episcopal Church changed its attitude and thus abandoned the ground it had held in common with Southern Methodism. (110) Few Virginians, in 1846, were more ardent Colonizationists than Bishop John Early, President of the Petersburg Colonization Society. And that year, both bishops of the Southern Church were Colonizationists, (111) as were leading Southern Methodist ministers, like William Winans of Mississippi, or John E. Edward, of Richmond. One can without difficult

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(108) For the speech of Pierce at this Conference, on the division of the Church, see G.G. Smith; Life and Times of George F. Pierce, Chapter VI.
(109) Smith, G.G.; Life and Times of George F. Pierce. Chapter VI.
(110) Af. Repos. XIX; 252.
(111) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Petersburg, Va. T.C. Benning to McLain. May 5, 1846.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Richmond. Va. Rev. J.E. Edwards. May 25, 1846.

recognize the meat upon which the New Hampshire minister fed, who, in advocating the resolution which brought about the division of the Methodist Church, declared; "Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers." (112) That was not the spirit of Colonization; it was the spirit of Garrisonian Abolition. It rent in twain other religious bodies, notably the Presbyterian. And it was because Garrisonian Abolition was fundamentally and essentially destructive of economic, social, political, or religious national unity. The influence of Colonization was exactly the reverse. We have seen its unifying influence in our study of its effect upon the public opinion of the United States. It was so, in society. It was distinctly so in the church.

Finally, in comparing the methods and results of Garrisonian Abolition and the Colonization Society, it may be interesting to look for a while, at the interchange of views that was taking place among Colonization leaders, and see how far those views will aid us in refuting the oft repeated charges of the Garrisonians, that after all, Colonization was an enormous obstacle in the way of emancipation, and that its ally was the slaveholder.

As early as 1828, Elliot Cresson was urging upon the Secretary of the Colonization Society, the importance of hearty cooperation between the Abolitionists and Colonizationists. (113) In 1831, one of the largest contributors to the Society, in Kentucky, was a man who had liberated his slaves and for five years refused to

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(112) Smith. G.G.; Life and Times of George F. Pierce. 123.
(113) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Phil. Cresson to Gurley. August 23, 1828.

eat with a slaveholder, especially if he were a Methodist. (114) Robert J. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, had made great sacrifice of reputation, in order to aid the Colonization society to hasten the day of general emancipation in his State. (115) William M. Blackford, a leader among colonizationists of Eastern Virginia, expressed himself as follows, on the subject of slavery; "We have had reason to curse slavery within the last day or two, from a painful exemplification of its evils occurring under our own eyes. A year ago I bought [and therefore, by the reasoning of the Abolitionists, he was a man-stealer] a negro woman from a trader, to prevent her separation from her husband. She was truly gratified and has made us a faithful servant ever since. Her husband belonged to an estate. In dividing it, a sale became necessary, and without letting me know of it, he was sold to a trader. He was seized on the streets, handcuffed, and then permitted to take leave of his wife. He entered our yard crying, and presented himself in that situation to his wife, who had not the remotest idea of such an event. I leave you to imagine the feelings of his wife --- and also of Mrs. B[lackford]. It has prayed upon the latter's mind very much, and will, I fear, make her sick. The man was addicted to drink, but was civil and industrious, and made an affectionate husband. But I needn't pain you by reflections on this subject." (116)

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(114).MSS Letters to A.C.S. R.S. Finley to Gurley. Winchester, Ky. June 8, 1831.
(115) MSS Letters to A.C.S. R.J.Breckenridge to Gurley. Lexington, Ky. August 16, 1831.
(116) MSS Letters to A.C.S. W.M. Blackford to Gurley. Fredericksburg, Va., October 4, 1832.

J. Burton Harrison, a native of Virginia, but a resident, at that time, of New Orleans, expressed the hope of colonists generally, when he wrote; "I am firmly persuaded that Kentucky is the most hopeful of all the slaveholding States (let me call them 'transition' States which seem not devoted to slavery in perpetuity, as Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and perhaps others) except Maryland." (117) A letter which is typical of scores of letters that were sent out to the Society's friends, from the Central office, contains the following; "We must if possible start a ship next month. About 40 liberated slaves are now waiting and must be sent or sold for the South!" (118) John McDonough, one of the foremost colonizationists of Louisiana, sought from the legislature of that State permission to educate his slaves --- for it was against the law for him to do so without obtaining permission from the legislature. He owned slaves valued at $150 000.00 and it was his purpose to colonize them all in Liberia, as they gave evidence of the ability to care for themselves. (119) Gerrit Smith, who would hardly be, by any student of abolition, accused of preslavery leaning, wrote, in 1828, concerning the alarm among slaveholders suspicious of the Colonization Society; "I must think that our slaveholders are causelessly alarmed at the American Colonization Society." (120) He realized perfectly well that the sympathetic attitude the Society assumed in its official

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(117) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.B. Harrison to Gurley. N. Orleans. May 16, 1833.
(118) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Mrs. Ann Richardson. November 14, 1840.
(119) Af. Repos. X; 24.
(120) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Peterboro, N.Y. Smith to Gurley. November 17, 1828.

journal towards the slaveholder, was assumed, not out of a love for slavery, but out of a belief that the only way to persuade the slaveholder to emancipate his slaves was to secure first his friendship and respect, and, as a result the liberation of his slaves. (121) Of course, it was no difficult matter for the abolitionists to take these very sympathetic utterances and build up a conclusive argument setting forth the base motives of colonizationists. And they di so, although the motive that they "proved" as exactly the opposite of that which the colonizationists actually had. What was used as a bait to secure the liberation of slaves was pictured by the Garrisonians to be the outcropping of the evil spirit back of the scheme. And yet a fair statement of its position was frewuently made to the public in the African Repository. For instance, in 1830, it was there stated; "That the system of slavery must exist temporarily in this country, we as firmly believe, as that for its existence a single moment, there can be offered justly no plea but necessity." (122)

It was reasonably conclusive proof both of the sincerity of the Society and of the effectiveness of its methods, that Francis Scott Key, appealing to Philadelphia for funds, reported that more than six hundred slaves were at that time offered by slaveholders on the condition of their removal to Liberia, and

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(121) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Smith to Gurley.Peterboro,N.Y. 2/6/1831
(122) Af. Repos. V; 328-30. See also, MSS Letters to A.C.S. N.Y. Gurley to P. R. Fendall . November 4, 1833.

that only the funds were needed, to secure their immediate liberation. (123).

While the appointment of Dr. Ezekiel Skinner as Colonial Agent was under consideration, he thought wise to make clear his position on the subject of slavery. It was this; "I have ever held slavery in abomination as the blackest of the black catalogue of human crimes, the criminality of which is not in the least lessened by the authority of human laws and which will carry the souls of those who are guilty of this crime before the bar of God blacker with moral pollution than the skins of those whom they unjustly held in bondage." "I am friendly to the Colonization Society as presenting the only means now with[in] our power to emancipate many whom we have reason to believe would otherwise die in slavery." (124) This statement caused neither a withdrawal of his appointment nor criticism of his position.

At the annual meeting of the Society, in 1834, Brekenridge thus stated the position of colonizationists, in their relation to slaveholder; "We stand in the breach for him, to keep off the Abolitionists. We are his friends, but only to give him time. **** And if he attempts to maintain slavery as perpetual, every one of us will be upon him too." At the same meeting Gerrit Smith reviewed several of the charges made against the Society, among which was the charge that there were at that time 265 000 persons "now in slavery, who would have been free if it had not

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(123) Af. Repos. Vi; 138-39.
(124) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Dr. E. Skinner to Gurley. Ashford, CONN. January 23, 1834.

been for the influence of this Society." A second charge was that all colonies whatever on the Coast of Africa went to support, rather than supress the slave-trade. In its review of the speech, The Liberator maintained that both these charges were true. (125) It is an interesting fact that at that meeting, it was a resident of Connecticut who urged the Society to confine its efforts chiefly to the transportation of free blacks, touching the question of slavery and emancipation as lightly as possible; and it was a resident of Maryland who urged that it concentrate its efforts upon transporting to the colony slaves emancipated for that express purpose --- in short, that it become more pronouncedly a society whose purpose was the liberation of slaves.

Dr. Reese, one of the most prominent members of the New York City Colonization Society, thus expressed himself on his attitude towards slavery; "Sir, I abhor slavery, and therefore am I a friend of Colonization. ***** If slavery should not eventually, under the influence of kindness and confidence, be abolished, it would be because the visionaries of the North would prevent it." (126)

If there was ever a time when the Colonizationists were unscrupulously assailed from both the press and the platform of the Garrisonians, that time was from 1831 to 1840. R.R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, saw more and knew more of that storm than did any other individual. During that period the Society's

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(125) The Liberator, Feb. 8, 1834. Here will be found an account of the speeches made at this important meeting of the Society.

(126) The Liberator. May 24, 1834.

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purposes were continually misrepresented and Gurley knew, for he directed, the movements and efforts of the organization. In a number of personal letters written to members of the Board of Managers during this period, Gurley sets forth clearly both his own views and the views of those colonizationists with whom he talks, as he travels for the Society from Massachusetts to Georgia. Of the influence of colonization in Maryland he writes; "In Maryland, the spirit of colonization is increasing among the slaveholders and no difficulty is experienced in procuring emigrants of the best character, out of the city of Balto." (127) Of his hopes for Virginia he writes; "I trust Virginia will receive the special attention of the Board. Let her voice be with us; let her consent that Congress shall appropriate money to colonization and we have triumphed --- slavery will go down with the consent of the South, and the Union will be preserved." (128) And again; "The people of the South must look to the Colonization policy as to the sheet anchor of their safety. Can they be so blind as not to see or so destitute of wisdom as not to prepare for the gathering stomr? Can the South be induced to propose and support Colonization as a National measure looking to the final abolition of slavery? Will Virginia lead in the scheme? If so all is safe." (129) Or again; "Let it be ours to bind together all the moderate and sober friends of Liberty and Africa in the

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(127) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to P.R. Fendall. Boston. August 3, 1835.
(128) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Jos. Gales.Boston. Oct.3,1835
(129) MSS Letters to A.C.S. (Confidential) Gurley to P.R. Fendall. Boston. October 7, 1835.

Union." (130) After a journey into Louisiana and Mississippi, where several large bequests had recently been made for the Society, he commented; "Each successive year, hereafter, will bequests to our Institution be multiplying and increasing, thousands of slaves will be placed under the protection of the Society, and all motives concur to urge us to adopt all proper methods *** to enable us to secure such bequests and the freedom and colonization of such slaves, as may be entrusted to our care." (131) Kentucky, he thought, had proved a profitable field for colonization effort, and he believed that the result was a rapidly growing disposition among her slaveholders to liberate their slaves, on condition of their emigration to the colony. (132)

Whether or not the very advocacy of gradual emancipation was of itself a hindrance to immediate emancipation there might be, and doubtless was wide difference of opinion. If abolitionists had urged this as the inevitable result of any scheme of gradual emancipation, the colonizationists could have had no just quarrel. Such a question might have been threshed out on the battle ground of reason. The great blunder the Garrisonians made was not in arguing that the tendency of colonization was necessarily to put off the hoped-for day, but that it was the deliberate purpose of colonizationists to put off that day. There

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(130) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Gales. Phil. December 12, 1835
(131) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Gales. Louisville, Ky. July 25, 1836.
(132) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Gurley to Fendall. Athens, Ga. June 7, 1837.

have been found, among the records of the Colonization Society, prior to 1846, two letters which go to show that the members of one auxiliary colonization Society, in Tennessee, and a number of luke-warm friends of the cause in Alabama based their support of colonization upon the ground, either of its usefulness as an ally of the slaveholder, in removing the distracting free blacks from the possibility of their influence over his slaves, or of its usefulness in relieving a section undoubtedly burdened with free blacks. (133) And the writer of the letter from Alabama understood well enough the true objects of colonizationists, to accuse his neighbors of "Machiavelism." Voluminous evidence, forsooth, upon which to make out a case for the Garrisonians!

It would not be difficult to show that there were cases in which the Garrisonians themselves prevented emancipations. In 1839, for instance, a Colonization agent was approached by a Kentucky slaveholder, who desired to emancipate his twenty slaves, giving them $500, on condition of their willingness to go to Liberia. Upon invitation, the agent addressed the slaves and secured their consetn to go. But the next morning they had all, save one, changed their minds. The cause of this change the master attributed (1) to the influence of the Garrisonians, who continually reminded the slaves that the colonizationists desired to "banish" them, or to "expatriate" them, and (2) to the rumors that had come to them of violent cases of seasickness and deaths

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(133) MSS Letters to A.C.S. H.A. Wise to Gurley. Nashville, Tenn. January 9, 1830.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. W.C. Dennis to Gurley. Blakeley, Ala. December 21, 1838.

--- which, with the rest, the Garrisonians did not hesitate to publish. (134) In 1840, the executor of Thomas Hall, of Virginia, who by his will liberated some twenty-five of his slaves--each to be given $25.00, if he agreed to go to the colony, and those refusing to go to revert to slavery--in reporting those who desired to emigrate, expressed his desire to go about through the community and solicit from his neighbors subscriptions to increase the allowance of the negroes who were about to leave; but he was prevented from doing so "by the wretched policy of the abolitionists", who had "created a prejudice against even colonization here, that threatens all hope of carrying on its operations south of Mason and Dixon's line. A man is in danger of being charged with a leaning to abolition if he advocates Colonization." (135) Such examples could be multiplied many times, and yet, it would be manifestly unfair to argue that the Garrisonians were opponents of emancipation. The charges of the Garrisonians were every whit as unfair. There were those in Kentucky who believed that, but for the extreme and radical opposition to Colonization of the Abolitionists, Kentucky would, by 1840, have been practically ready to pass a general emancipation law. (136) And, of a large number of slaves owned by Mr. Black, of Tennessee, and offered to the Society upon certain conditions --- but who had fallen into the hands of ill-disposed heirs and sold to the Southwest ---

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(134) MSS Letters to A.C.S. G.W. Fagg to Wilkeson. Elizabethtown, Ky. September 19, 1839.
(135) MSS Letters to A.C.S. E. Broadus to Wilkeson. Culpeper, Va. August 11, 1840.
(136)

Secretary McLain wrote; "We begged hard for them but the country did not respond and now they are beyond our reach --- and involved in perpetual slavery." (137) May it not be asked whether some of the money used in spreading baseless slanders against the Colonization Society might not profitably have been used in contributions to that Society, to secure the liberation of proffered slaves? A leading minister of Mississippi declared, in New York, that the Colonization Society, had had a tremendous influence in preparing the way for the opening of the door of a gradual, but complete emancipation in that State, but that the rise of rabid Garrisonism had been one of the foremost agents in closing "every door that had been opened for the escape of the slave****." (138) A plain miller of eastern Virginia --- not troubled with the "too liberal construction" fears of his more learned fellow citizens --- wrote to the Society, requesting the transporation of his family of six slaves, expressed the opinion that, if the Federal Government and the Abolitionists would cooperate with Colonizationists, they could "heal a disease that, if not arrested, is likely to dissolve the Union." (139) From these evidences it seems clear that among the results of Garrisonain Abolition in the South, are to be mentioned not only a change very unfavorable to voluntary emancipation, but also a large number of instances of actual prevention of immediate emancipation. And yet, it would

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(137) MSS Letters of A.C.S. to Cresson. Wash. June 3, 1844.
(138) Af. Repos. XX; 183.
(139) MSS Letters to A.C.S. John Gray to McLain. Fredericksburg, Va. January 27, 1845.

obviously do violence to the true interpretation of the Garrisonian faith, to accuse its representatives of hostility to the immediate emancipation of slaves.

J. G. Birney, at this time an agent of the Colonization Society, and soon to become Abolitionist, gives an interesting summary of his view on prospects in the South. These views are entitled to considerable wright, when viewed in connection with Birney's later prominence in political abolition and his place in the Liberal Party. In 1833, he wrote, of the prospects of getting rid of slavery in the slaveholding States; "The only effectual way that seems open to my view, is the withdrawing of Virginia from the Slave States, by her adoption of some scheme of emancipation. Should this be done, the whole system of slavery in the U. S. would, upon the very pressure of public opinion, be brought, and that in a few years, in shivers to the ground. In proportion as the slaveholding territory is weakened in political influence, it will be weakened in the power of withstanding the force of public sentiment; and the last State in which slavery shall exist *** will **** be perfectly odious. (The proceedings of the Abolitionists of the North have a very injurious effect here --- they seem to furnish a kind of justification of slavery itself to the Southern slaveholders. I assure you, sir, I have nothing left but <u>hope</u> for the South. By the word <u>South,</u> I mean South-- Ala., Missi., Loua. In 20 years they must be overrun by the blacks. There is no escape but in doing that, which, I am almost certain, will not be done.) What I would now suggest, would be to press with every energy upon Maryland, Virga. and Ky. for emancipation and colonization. If Virga. be not detached

from the number of slaveholding States, the slavery question must inevitable dissolve the Union, and that before very long. Should she leave them, the Union will be safe, tho' the suffering of the South will be almost unto death. *** I greatly approve of your opinion, that 'for some years, at least, the North should forbear', that everything that looks lie relief for the South may be attempted." (140) Two and a half months later he wrote agin; "I do not believe, that anything effectual can be done South of Tennessee. In the spirit of emancipation which the colonization cause has produced the planters of the South, see that it does affect the subject of slavery. This they are determined not to have touched in any way. It is my sincere belief that the South --- at least that part of it in which I have been operating has, within the last year, become very manifestly, more and more indurated upon the subject of slavery." (141)

It was precisely this hope of winning the middle States that continued to permit slavery, and thus to win its way further and further down into the lower South --- all the while making whatever efforts it could in the newer Southwestern States --- that actuated the Colonization Society. With Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee among the free States, the pressure of public opinion and the futility of physical opposition, would make the entire Union some day, without a national upheval, free from the blight of slavery. In the language of Francis Scott Key; "No

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(140) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.G.Birney to Gurley. Huntsville, Ala. September 14, 1833.
(141) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J. G. Burney to Gurley. Danville, Ky. December 3, 1833.

free State adjacent to a free State con continue so." (142) It was always in these "adjacent" States that the condition of the slaves was least undesirable --- and hence, in which the accusations of the Garrisonians were most unfounded in fact. It was here also that the influence of the Garrisonians reached most directly, and where the reaction against both Abolition and Colonization --- on account of the Abolitionists --- was, if not more defiant, nevertheless most destructive.

If the sincerity of the Colonization cause, which the Garrisonians charged with hypocrisy, has not yet been conclusively set forth, no more convincing documents could be recommended to the consideration of the investigator than the lengthy and comprehensive letter of Birney, on his severing his connection with the colonization movement to become an Anti-Slavery leader, or a similarly lengthy and comprehensive letter of Gerrit Smith, just a short while before he also went over to the Anti-Slavery party. Birney's objection was not founded upon the discovery of any deviation from the straight line of an altogether laudable policy to place the free negro in a position where he would not be held down by the shackles of prejudice, and, by peaceable means, to bring about the ultimate and entire abolition of slavery, but upon the belief that "There is not in colonization any principle, or quality, or constituent substance fitted so to tell upon the hearts and minds of men as to ensure continued and persevering action." (143)

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(142) Supra. p.9.
(143) The Liberator. August 16th, 1834.

And the letter of Gerrit Smith contains one of the most exhaustive, eloquent, and comprehensive defences of the motives of the leaders of the Society, that has been presented to the public. His objection was not based upon any discovery of the slightest pro-slavery designs or feelings among those leaders, but upon the objection --- in many respects the very opposite of that given by Garrisonians --- that the Society had been neglectful of the American negro who was already free. (144)

It was a great struggle --- that between the Garrisonians and the Colonizationists. Verily, it was the first American civil war, on the subject of slavery. For ten years it raged. The outbreak of it was due to Garrison and his confederates, and from first to last, it was defensive contest, from the point of view of the Colonization Society. When it began, the States were divided into three comparatively distinct sections --- the New England, the Middle, and the South. The middle States extended from New York, on the North, to -- or including, North Carolina, on the South. There were three prevailing opinions. In the New England section, it was the Abolition sentiment; in the Middle section, it was the Colonization sentiment; in the Southern section, it was the positive pro-slavery sentiment. The outcome of that struggle is of deep significance; for when the end of it had come, the middle section had disappeared, so far as its importance as a "buffer state" of public sentiment is concerned. Hence forth, there was to be a North and a South. Striking evidence of this

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(144) The Liberator. January 24, 1835.

is seen on the one hand, by the fact that as early as an annual meeting of the Society in 1834, the delegates from Pennsylvania and New York had thrown many of their former moderate views to the winds and were definitely Anti-Slavery; and on the other hand, the fact that the North Carolina Manumission Society--founded in 1816 and, by 1825, boasting of 58 auxiliaries and 1600 members, and the sympathy of probably a majority of the citizens of that State--founded with the avowed and definite purpose of freeing North Carolina slaves, held its last meeting in 1834; failed, in no small measure, because of the revolt of North Carolinians from any thing that in the least savored of a Garrisonian program. (145) Under able business management and a very efficient corps of agents and advertisers, the cause of Colonization was to continue to do an important work; but the character of that work had changed. The struggle waged by the Abolitionists had made quite improbable, in the minds of the mass of Americans the solution of the negro problem by the colonization plan. Many, many thousands of dollars were still to be contributed; but it was contributed rather as an aid to the establishment of a model negro republic in Africa --- whose effect would be to discourage the slave-trade, and encourage energy and thrift, among those free negroes from the United States who chose to emigrate, and to give native Africans a demonstration of the advantages of civilization. In short, the eyes of colonizationists were, in great measure, turned from a Southern slave

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(145) Univ. of N.C. Magazine. Vol. XIV; No. 4, p. 221.

system to a Republic of Liberia. Colonization continued to have a controling influence in any part of the country. The Abolitionists had enlisted those who were to be henceforth pro-Northern advocates; and it had definitely alienated the rest of those who had once been moderate. In a word, the Garrisonians had dangerously divided the Union into two bitter and opposing sections, whose sentiments were, in the days to come, little tempered by so commanding a moderate and unifying and healing sentiment as that held by Colonizationists. From the point of view of its influence upon the subject of slavery Garrison undoubtedly won his fight, and in doing so, he was the forerunner and, ought it not to be said? one of the leading "irrepressible" causes of the "irrepressible" conflict. Many bequests were yet to be made to the Society, many slaves were yet offered their freedom on condition of emigration, many efforts were yet made by those patriots, proponents of Colonization, to hold the Union together, and the Colonization lived on doing a commendable work; but the character of its work was fundamentally changed by the conflict that began in 1831, and whose influence was actively alive as late as 1845, though the struggle for supremacy may be said to have come to an end.

By 1842, Garrison was calling the roll of his ultra-Abolitionist coworkers --- and he noted the absence of most of them. "The time was," said he, "when Arthur Tappan stood deservedly conspicuous before the nation as an abolitionist, ******; but where is he now?" "Where is James G. Birney? In Western retiracy, waiting to be elected President of the United States, that he may have an opportunity to do something for the abolition of slavery."

"Where is Henry B. Stanton? Studying law, (which crushes humanity, and is hostile to the gospel of Christ,) and indulging the hope of one day or other, by the aid of the Liberty party', occupying a seat in Congress ****." "Where are Theodore D. Weld and his wife, and Sarah M. Grimke?" "Where is Amos G. Phelps? ****He is a petty priest, of a petty parish, located in East Boston. What a fall!" "Where is Elizur Wright, Jr., once a flame of fire ****? Absorbed in selling some French fables which he has translated into English! 'Et tu, Brute!'" "Where is John G. Whittier?" "Where is Daniel Wise?" "Where is Orange Scott******? Morally defunct." And so on, through a list os seventeen names, of all which the African Repository commented; "He could not name ten others, who, in the days of his greatest success, were equally efficient in his service." (146) What was the trouble? Why had these flames gone out? Perhaps, New Englanders --- the wisest of them --- were coming to see the futility of blatant Garrisonism.

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(146) Af. Repos. XVIII; 327-29/

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION. 1817-1830.

A study of the operations of the American Colonization Society, if it is to set forth fairly and completely the colonization movement, must present the efforts of that organization from two distinct points of view; (1) its effects and results, in relation to the question of slavery, and (2) the degree of its success in establishing upon the west coast of Africa an asylum for the American free negro, or the American slave manumitted or emancipated with a view to emigration to the Society's settlements, and for Africans recaptured from slave vessels and restored to their native land. In a consideration of its bearings upon the solution of the problem of slavery, no more important topic can be discussed than the influence of the Society in encouraging a spirit in the South favorable to emancipation. An accurate estimate of that influence is as difficult as it is important. Records of emancipations or manumissions are so incomplete and unsatisfactory that no summary can be made which will be at once exhaustive and analytical. If every slave holder, who emancipated his blacks, told us whether he did so as the result of a distinct influence exerted by the Society, the problem would be much simplified. But though [illegible] the emancipator discussed briefly both his motives and the influences that led to the freedom of his slaves. In many, many cases, he, himself, was probably unable to analyze those influences. Perhaps, he had been led to give his negroes their freedom because he lived in a community

where emancipation was "in [illegible]." And [illegible] that the influence of the Colonization Society [illegible]. In [illegible] cannot be measured with a yard stick; and it is exceedingly difficult to measure it at all.

A further difficulty is [illegible] in the fact that several notices might appear in either the official minutes or the official journal--- the investigator being unable to tell whether the notices referred to were notices of the same or of different cases of emancipation. The result is, unfortunately, likely to be a confusion of estimates.

It has already been pointed out (1) that, from the hour of its organization---indeed, before that hour--- it was hoped that one of the important institutions of Liberia would be that in favor of the gradual and entire abolition of slavery, through its influence in favor of voluntary emancipation. At an early date William Thornton had already expressed the desire and the hope that it might "afford the best hope yet presented of putting an end to the slavery in which not less than 600,000 unhappy negroes are now involved." He foresaw the day when conditions in the South would bring about the enactment of laws prohibiting emancipations, unless accompanied with a provision for removal from the state. (2) Before the Colonization Society was a year old, the Manumission Society of North Carolina had become interested in cooperating with it, and after ten years' observation of its influence in favor of the emancipation of

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(1) ~~Above~~ Below, page ~~[illegible]~~ 33 ff.
(2) MSS William Thornton Papers. Vol XIV. Misc Lib. Library of Congr.

slaves, warmly recommended it and pledged its own support. (3) In a memorial presented to Congress, in 1819, a committee, composed of two Virginians, John Nelson and General Walter Jones, one Marylander, Francis Scott Key, and one member from the District of Columbia, Dr. N. E. Caldwell, expressed the view that if colonization resulted in the complete abolition of slavery, "Who can doubt that of all the blessings we may be permitted to bequeath to our descendants, this will receive the richest tribute of their thanks and veneration." (4) The Managers, in their annual report, in 1820, declared; "the hope of the gradual and utter abolition of slavery, in a manner consistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be abandoned." (5) In their annual report, in 1822, the same body expressed, not only the hope, but the satisfaction, of seeing distinct evidences of the willingness of slaveholders to liberate their slaves for the purpose of sending them to Africa. (6) The delight of those Managers was expressed in still stronger terms, in 1825, (7) Lafayette, for whom the leaders of the society had very great respect, and who was one of its Vice-Presidents, looked to the day when its influence in bringing about emancipation would be of great importance. (8) From the time of its

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(3) MSS Journal Board of Managers A. C. S. September 19, 1817. MSS Letters to A.C.S. Manumission Society of N.C. to A. C. S. September 17, 1827.
(4) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C. . December 10, 1819.
(5) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A.C.S. I; 107.
(6) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A.C. . I; 190.
(7) MSS Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings A.C.S. I; 208.
(8) Af. Repos. I; 285.

organization to about 1828, the leading motive on those who controlled the organization was the elevation of the American free negro; but the most important secondary result that they hoped the Society might have, was the widespread cultivation of a sentiment favorable to emancipation. After 1828, the desire for the uplift of the free negro and the desire for the liberation of the slave came to be equally important, it seems, in the policy of the Society. And gradually, and for years, thereafter, its efforts were directed more to securing the emancipation of slaves than toward the elevation of the free negro. It has already been seen that Gerrit Smith left the Society with this very criticism of it.

Although at no time was the influence of the Colonizationists exerted in opposition to emancipation, it is true that during its early years, the Society was careful to violate neither its own constitution nor local, municipal law on the subject of slavery. For instance, there were cases in which runaway slaves came to the Society's agents, requesting to be sent to Liberia. (9) Such requests were refused. Requests were made to the Society to apply its funds directly to the purchase of slaves for transportation to the colony. These also were refused, though agents of the society were willing and glad to furnish lists of slaves who might be purchased in order for transportation; and Gurley even went so far as to suggest that if funds were placed in the hands of the Colonization Society for the express purpose of being applied to the benefit of those who, if such funds were

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(9) MSS Letters, to A.C.S. C. Wright to Gurley. Montpelier. December 22, 1826.
MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. Sept. 26, 1827. December 12, 1827. May 19, 1828.

not available, would revert to slavery, the Society would gladly make use of such funds for the purpose designed. (10) And there is on record a case in which twelve or fifteen slaves in Virginia were held in slavery for want of funds to secure their being placed in the hands of the Society. Gerrit Smith, already turned Abolitionist, refused, it seems, to furnish the financial assistance, and John McDonough, of New Orleans---a leader among colonizationists --- directed the treasurer of the Society to draw on him for the required amount. (11) When, in 1843, McLain, Treasurer of the Society, was working for the cause in Louisiana, he reported to the Washington office that he hesitated to appeal for funds, because the Louisiana Society wished the first $300 raised to be applied to the purchase of "the learned Blacksmith of Alabama" --- a remarkable negro slave. T is he felt to be a violation of the constitution of the Society. (12) The tendency, however, never was to construe too strictly, but too liberally, the terms of the constituion, in this respect. The inclination of colonizationists was so favorable to emancipation that now and then resolutions were submitted and adopted, whose object was to remind the Society that its purpose was, historically, to secure the elevation of the free negro rather than the liberation of the slave. Hon. Robert P. McLane, of Maryland, secured, in 1849, the passage of such resolutions, which set forth well the attitude the Society took; "Resolved, That in all action affecting this institution

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(10) MSS Letters of A. [illegible] Hurley to Rev. E.S. Ripley. December 9, 1843.
(11) MSS Letters of A. [illegible] Hurley to Ripley. December 9, 1843 p. 499
(12) MSS " " [illegible] Ripley to Hurley. New Orleans 8/6/1843
MSS " " Ripley to Hurley. Baltimore [illegible]/4/1845

[slavery] in its social or political aspect, the American citizen and statesman who reveres the Federal Union has imposed upon him the most solemn obligations to respect in spirit and letter the authority of local and municipal sovereignties, and to resist all aggressive influences which tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the States, that may have created or sanctioned this institution." Resolved, further, That the efforts of the American Colonization Society to facilitate the ultimate emancipation and restoration of the black race to social and national independence are highly honorable and judicious, and consistent with a strict respect for the rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States wherein the institution of slavery is sanctioned by municipal law." (13)

Such reminders were needed, especially for the auxiliary societies, which, in may instances, were with the greatest difficulty prevented from going too far, consistent with the constitution, in the effort to liberate slaves. Notable, among these, was the Philadelphia Society, Elliot Cresson, for instance, wrote, in 1830, that Philadelphians wishes their funds used "for the special purpose of sending manumitted slaves," and suggested that free negroes be required to pay their own transportation expenses. (14) Thomas Buchanan, while agent for the New York and Philadelphia societies, and a short while before his appointment as colonial Governor of Liberia, secured

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(13) MSS Minutes Board of Directors A.C.S. January 16, 1849.
(14) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Gurley. September 23, 1830. Phil.

not only the liberty of forty slaves but also a contribution of $1500, from their owner, to be applied for their benefit. (15) In 1847, Treasurer Hallett, of the Parent Society, was writing to Virginians inquiring for the names of slaves whose liberation could be secured on condition of their removal to Africa. He thought he could raise the money with which to secure the liberty of some of them --- though here he was undoubtedly going beyond the constitution of the Society. He wrote; "We have many friends who are beginning to feel a strong desire to aid in sending slaves to Liberia who cannot be set at liberty unless they are sent and who cannot be sent unless somebody gives the means." (16) In 1848, the Massachusetts Society was placing on certain of its donations the proviso that they should be used in defraying the expenses of emancipated slaves. (17) In 1848, the Massachusetts agent wrote; "I think we can get the money for those seven slaves; and <u>some</u> of it will be money that we should not otherwise receive." (18) A peculiarly interesting case is that of the Kentucky slave, Rheuben. Rev. J. B. Pinney, agent for the Colonization Society, had gone to Kentucky to collect a group of liberated slaves, twenty-one of them, and conduct them to the port of embarkation for Liberia. Among the number was family of children whose father was still a slave. A meeting was held in the

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(15) Af. Repos. XIV; 54.
(16) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Joseph Tracy. March 7, 1847. #743. See also MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to C. C. Andrews. March 7, 1848. #74 .
(17) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Shurley to G. Whittlesey. Boston. June 1, 1847.
(18) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Boston. Tracy to McLain. April 21, 1848.

church, [illegible] president of Princeton [illegible], Dr. Breckenridge, was [illegible]. Rhemon was asked if he would like to accompany his children. He expressed great desire to go. The audience was asked whether they desired at once to purchase Rhemon and send him and his children. Hardly had the invitation to contribute been given, in the pretide the bible was surrounded by those who within a few minutes had contributed a sum sufficient to secure Rhemon's release. (19) This is interesting now always as an incident, but because it throws a light upon the attitude that a number of colonizationists in a border slave-holding State took toward the emancipation of a slave, for the purpose of transportation to the colony. Examples will hereafter be given to show that these efforts to secure the emancipation of slaves was not confined to the New England or the Middle States alone. Hundreds of slaves in Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee, as well as in Kentucky and Virginia, were liberated because of the efforts of colonizationists.

Of the effect of colonization upon the spirit of emancipation --- considering the U with in general --- President Adams, of the B. [illegible] Railroad, wrote, in 1832; "***the exertion of the Society have already added a moral influence which is obviously perceptible," although he [illegible] that colonization was only one [illegible] in [illegible]. (20) [illegible] were at that time more than [illegible] slaves willing to go to Liberia and delivered by their masters to the society, as soon as

(19) Af. Repos. XXXI; 11-12.
(20) MSS letters to R.C.S. Ball. [illegible] to Gurley. September 30, 1832.

the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ization [illegible] [illegible]. (21) [illegible] F. [illegible]ler, [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible]'s [illegible], [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] all [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a result, since [illegible] revolution." [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] auxiliary [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] Ideas to emancipate [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. (22) William Maxwell, a leading colonizationist of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] power as an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] unit [illegible] [illegible]. (23) [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] civil [illegible]. (24) In the African Repository [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] between five and six [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] of transportation [illegible] --- [illegible] not [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the colony [illegible] [illegible] public [illegible]. (25) In [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] con-[illegible]; "[illegible] [illegible] in order [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] will [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]." (26)

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(21) Af. Rep. [illegible]. VI; 15[illegible].
(22) Af. Rep. [illegible]. VI; [illegible].
(23) Af. Rep. [illegible]. XIII; [illegible].
(24) Af. Rep. [illegible]. XV; [illegible].
(25) Af. Rep. [illegible]. XVIII. passim.
(26) Af. Rep. [illegible]. XXI; 1[illegible]-5[illegible]. [illegible] III; 22[illegible]. [illegible] A.C.S. [illegible] Gurley. [illegible], January [illegible], [illegible].

Of the effect of the Society's influence in Kentucky, the General Agent for the West reported "a growing disposition for gratuitous manumission and **** an avowed determination on the part of some of our most influential men to press with all their might the subject of gradual abolition in case a convention shall be called, to settle the disturbances of our State, a resolution for which has been already introduced in the House of Representatives. I mention this for your private satisfaction; I mean to say its publication would be premature. Twenty-two slaves with the means of transportation were the other day willed to the Society by a gentleman in Bourbon County and eighty-odd have been very recently liberated by one man in Clarksville, Tennessee. I would mention several other cases of which I have been particularly informed." (27) Again, in 1828, he wrote that many slaveholders were ready to liberate their slaves when they could be received by the Society. (28) A member of the Kentucky State Society called attention to the very widespread sentiment in favor of emancipation, and attributed it, in considerable measure, to the influence of the Colonizationists --- though he admitted that an effort had been made to drag it into politics, the Jackson men saying "it is a party thing." (29) R. J. Breckenridge, while yet a resident of Kentucky, declared in 1831, "It is now generally admitted, that a very large number of those owning slaves, perhaps as many as

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(27) MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.H.Peers to Gurley, Maysville, Ky. December 11, 1826.
(28) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Peers to Gurley, [illegible] 7, 1827.
(29) MSS Letters to A.C.S. to Kepler, Lexington, Ky. September 8, 1828.

one-third of the Society would decidedly favor the gradual emancipation of the slaves of this State; provided the great accumulation of free negroes supposed to be consequent on such a step could be avoided. Among the non-slaveholders, I never saw a person of ordinary intelligence, who was not decidedly favorable to some efficient project of that sort" --- and that was one of the secrets of colonization's influence throughout the upper South. It proposed not only to emancipate, but also to remove; and it must never be forgotten that one of the most powerful objections to the abolition of slavery, from the point of view of the South, was that the free negro would become a black peril to the South. (30) Robert A. Finley, a son of the venerable Robert Finley, assured the parent Society that it could secure without difficulty all the emigrants it could accommodate. "I have heard", he wrote, "within the last ten days without making particular inquiries on the subject of hundreds of slaves who are only held in bondage until the Colonization Society will undertake to colonize them. And I have no hesitation in saying that there are <u>thousands</u> of slaves in this State who are merely held by their masters <u>in trust</u> for the same praiseworthy object." (31) In 1831, an assistant secretary of the Society wrote as hopefully as had Finley. (32) Elliot Cresson, traveling in the interest of the Society, wrote from Mississippi, in 1840, that

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(30) Af. Repos. VII; 48-49.
(31) MSS Letters to A.C.S. R. A. Finley to Gurney, Lexington, Ky. April 12, 1831.
(32) MSS Letters to A.C.S. P. Knight to Gilkeson, Frankfort, Ky. November 30, 1831.

the whole South, and particularly Kentucky, seemed to be ready to cooperate in the colonization of its slaves. (33)

In Virginia there were not wanting signs of the Society's influence. The State Colonization, of that State, and the Lynchburg Society reported large numbers of slaves, as well as free negroes, desiring to go to the colony --- many of the slaves being offered their liberty on condition of removal by the Society. (34) Monroe once told Elliot Cresson that if the Society could raise funds sufficient to care for the settlers, he could procure ten thousand slaves by emancipation, in Virginia alone. (35)

In North Carolina, as late as 1840, the Society's agent reported continued growth of sentiment favorable to emancipation, if accompanied by removal. One slaveholder, the owner of upwards of one thousand negroes, was reported as determined to emancipate them all, if the colony continued to improve and if the Society could make provision for them. (36) So efficient were the North Carolina Quakers, in their cooperation with the Society that they alone seemed able to supply all the emigrants that could be accommodated, with the limited means of the

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(33) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Cresson to Wilkeson. Natchez. Miss. April 13, 1840.
(34) Af. Repos. IV; 307-11; V; 203; VI; 214-15.
See also MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible]. Atkinson to Gurley. Petersburg, Va. December 17, 1831.
(35) Af. Repos. XV; 84.
See also MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to Rev. Stephen Taylor. July 15, 1842. p.148.
(36) MSS Letters A.C.S. J. McRae to Wilkeson. Fayetteville, N.C. Dec. 6, 1840.

Colonizationists. From 1825 to 1830, slaveholders in that State placed in the hands of these Quakers hundreds of slaves, on condition of their removal to Liberia. (37)

It must not be supposed that there were no counter influences. In comparing the Abolition and Colonization movements it has already been set forth that one of the strongest of these counter forces was the Abolitionists themselves. Whether by picturing in dark colors the motives of Colonizationists, or by assuring the negroes that emigration was not their privilege, but rather their banishment, or by picturing the terrors of the sea or the ferocity of the native Africans or the fatal consequences of the period of acclimation in the colony, or the fact that the negro had a right to enjoy the same privileges, in America, that his white brother had; or by speaking of slaveholders, and to slaveholders, in terms calculated to exasperate not only an enemy but a friend --- in all these ways, and more, the Garrisonians were working up a sentiment which made it impossible for the Northern States and the Southern to meet on common ground, in the solution of a great problem. It is a fact --- and a fact altogether neglected by proponents of Garrison--- that no considerable section of American citizenship would have borne Garrisonian insult without uniting in opposition. His own New England would have risen in as radical opposition, as it did rise in radical support, if he had spoken of its

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(37) MSS Letters to A.C.S. F.G. Ehringhaus to Gurley. Elizabeth City, N. C. September 30, 1826.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Creson to Gurley. Aug. 23, 1826.
Am. Repos. V; 94.

citizenship in the same unmeasured terms that are used in describing Southerners. This is true because a man's a man--- and not a superman. Too much has been made of the peculiarities of Southern temperament, and not enough made of the peculiarities of Garrisonian abuse. Garrison thought of the South in terms of Ephraim and his Idol --- and that was true, in 1831, of a part of the lower South. But a truer picture of the upper South, in 1831, would have been that represented by Prometheus bound. In 1832, a still truer picture would have been that of Prometheus, bound to the rock by Garrison, and hugging to his bosom the first endurable, then companionable, and finally lovable vulture. Garrison's abuse furnished the South with the best justification it ever had for plunging into civil war. Ultra-Abolition made a patriot of many a man who could not have found it with great earnestness to preserve the institution of slavery. Garrisonian methods made patriots of Southern opponents of slavery --- for they enabled the South to stand, not only as the defender of a bad thing but also as the defender of a good thing ---- not only as a defender of slavery, but also of the Constitution of the United States. Colonizationists took away the strongest ground the South had to stand on, in her defense of slavery, for Colonizationists admitted that the constitution stood between them and the positively pro-slavery advocates. Garrisonians, by refusing to admit that, had a large part in the very making of their arch-enemy Calhoun. They gave him the opportunity of defending the South in the same breath with which he defended the Constitution. They assisted him powerfully to make his reputation as a great political theorist, as well as a great pro-

slavery advocates. It may not appear that radical abolitionism was pregnant not only with influences opposed to colonization, but also with influences opposed to emancipation.

Other counter influences should be mentioned --- some of them growing directly out of those just discussed. The injudicious publication of articles advocating emancipation, the belief of some slaveholders that their "people" would not be safe, in the colony, from the dangers of hostile tribes, or that there was not proper provision made for receiving them or the fear that their slaves, after being liberated, might escape from the vessel before it left port or, in some other way, might gain their freedom without emigrating, or the hesitancy of many negroes to give their consent to go, or the refusal of some --- many --- slaveholders to encounter public criticism by doing that which some thought was a yielding to Garrisonism, or, in the case of Virginia, where the State was almost as completely sectionalized into an east and a west as was the Atlantic Seaborad into a South and a North --- local political opposition of one section against the other, or the extreme sensitiveness of portions of the South, and particularly Virginia, to any efforts made to secure aid from the Federal Government, or the widespread realization that already the Colonizationists had more applicants than their funds would permit of sending to Africa --- all these checked the expression

of a willingness to emancipate. (38) Indeed, there was probably not a time during the whole period herein considered then, notwithstanding the counter influences of which mention has just been made, the Society could not have enlarged greatly its operations and secured the liberation of a much larger number of slaves than were given over to it, if it had had funds sufficient to settle them. As early as 1827, the Managers were compelled to refuse passage to recently emancipated slaves in parts of Virginia, and of slaves who would be emancipated to go to the colony. (39) The public journal of the Society contains many evidences that Abolitionists could have secured at once the liberation of hundreds and thousands of slaves if they had been willing to contribute to the support of the Society which could get slaves for the asking when Garrison could not have bought them at any price. The panic of 1837 was very disastrous to the enlarging opportunities of the Society. John McDonogh, of

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(38) MSS Letters to A.C.S. T. Funk to Gurley. Brunswick, Va. October 8, 1826.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Benj. Brand to Gurley, Richmond, Va. August 20, 1831.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. Benj. Brand to Gurley. Richmond, Va. November 8, 1827. MSS Letters to A.C.S. J.M. Blackford to Gurley. Fredericksburg, Va. August 12, 1828. MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Rev. H. S. Dodge. February 20, 1845. #677 MSS Letters to A.C.S. W.M. Blackford to Gurley. Fredericksburg, Va. October 11, 1828. MSS Letters to A.C.S. C.H. Carter to Gurley, Richmond, Va. December 12, 1831. Af. Repos. XII; 89. Ibid, XIV; 43-47.

(39) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. March 26, 1827.

Louisiana, [illegible] that, in 1841, there were hardly fifty solvent men in New Orleans (40), and that same year the treasurer of the Society was appealing to friends in the North to furnish the means without which the liberty of certain slaves could not be secured. "We are trying hard," wrote McLain, "to raise the means of sending to Liberia about 30 liberated slaves, who must be sold again into slavery if not sent soon. In these circumstances we should be unfaithful to the important trusts committed to us, if we did not appeal to every friend of the colored man now held." (41) Letters were sent to leading colonizationists throughout the United States for aid in securing the liberty and transportation of slaves offered for the Colony. In 1841, the General Agent, Judge Wilkeson, thus instructed McLain who was working for the cause in the South; "Study economy and take the negro only who will go to slavery unless sent to Liberia, unless his expenses is paid ******." (42) Appeals were made during this year to save from slavery and the cupidity of heirs eleven slaves in Kentucky, and at another time, eighteen slaves from the same State. (43) The appeal of the Colonizationists was; "We must save them"; "***What shall we do? We have now no means of defraying their expenses. Let them be sold? We never could justi-

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(40) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Crosson to Wilkeson. N. Orleans. April 2, 1840.
(41) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Prof. Ballard. December 30, 1840. [illegible] MSS Letters of A.C.S. to Pres. Humphre , of Amherst. December 2, [illegible] #220.
(42) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Wilkeson to McLain. April 6, 1841. #1147
(43) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to D. Blatchin. Vol. IV; #1242. MSS Letters of A.C.S. --- to Theo. Frelinghuysen. August 26, 1841. [illegible]

by [illegible] American people." "More and more suffer than we can relieve the means of relieving." In 1843, a slaveholder of Nashville, Tennessee, desired to place in the hands of the Society, for emancipation, sixty slaves; a slaveholder living near New Orleans made an offer of eighty slaves; a lady in Virginia desired to make the same disposition of some sixty of her "people", but the Society had not the funds to fit out an expedition. (44) During that year the Treasurer sent to a slaveholder the following refusal; "I wish it was in my power to inform you that the Soc. could pay the expenses on sending the family you wish to liberate. But the applications are so numerous and the Soc. so in debt, the Ex. Committee have been obliged to resolve that for the present they can send out none but such as can pay their own expenses." (45) And, wishing about three months, he was appealing for $7,000.00 with which to fit out an expedition, on which one hundred and sixty-seven slaves were to go to Liberia, "if we can send them", otherwise a part of them were to revert to slavery. "Oh, that our Northern friends but understood the magnitude and importance of the great work in which we are engaged." (46) But appeals to New England failed of the

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(44) MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to Jacob Gibson. February 14, 1843. #629.
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to George Parker. February 17, 1843. #641.
(45) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to Dr. J. Holcombe. August 17, 1843. #236.
(46) MSS Letters of A.C.S. McLain to S. S. Southall. November 28, 1843. #444.
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley to Dr. A. D. Merrill. #448.
MSS Letters of A.C.S. Gurley. --------- #436.

desired relief. Mr. Garrison had assured them that it was the purpose of the colonizationists to "rivet more firmly the fetters of the slave."

To those who suppose that the only reason slaveholders could offer for continuing to hold their slaves was that they preferred to do so, it may be of value to point out some of the problems involved in the liberation, by a master, of his negroes; and to show that there were slaveowners in the South who despised the institution, and who were glad of an opportunity to be rid of the responsibility and burden, when they found an opportunity to do so with safety, as they thought, to their country. In 1857, a Mississippi slaveholder, preparing his twenty-three negroes for emigration to Liberia, wrote the Society, telling of the farming tools and carpenter's outfit he hoped to give them on their departure, and thus expressed his gratification at finding a way out of the burden of slaveholding; "I hope that it will be in the power of the Society to give them a passage early in June, that I may be enabled to wipe from my character the foulest stain with which it was ever tarnished and pluck from my bleeding conscience the most punient sting. I had fully determined several years past to emancipate them about this time but had been much perplexed in my mind in relation to their future place of residence, until I learned that Heaven had provided an asylum in the land of their ancestors, where I had long been of opinion it was right that they should be transported and with them the seeds of civilization and Christianity to make some amends [illegible] for the

[illegible] "[illegible] outrages committed *** by a people who styled themselves Christians for so many centuries." (47) Sometimes the difficulty was in the expense involved in the preparation of the slaves for liberty --- and one would be surprised to read the many evidences of real desire on the part of those masters who offered their slaves to the Society, to send their negroes well prepared, well equipped, and well provisioned. (48) William Johnson, of Western Virginia, who was the owner of nine slaves, one of whom he had bought with the express purpose of freeing him with his sister, was an uneducated, poor, but sincere slaveholder for conscience sake. After making two attempts "to try to get money to send them to Liberia", he appeals to the Society to relieve him of the burden. (49) In many cases the difficulty was simply one of deciding what to do with the slaves if they were to be freed. It has been seen that in most of the Southern States, the laws against emancipations within the State were made more stringent and were more strictly enforced after the Garrisonian onset and the developments of the cotton industry. The result was that slaveholders, no matter what they thought of the evils of slavery, could not lawfully manumit, except by transporting the manumitted to some part of the Union, or to some other place where such prohibitory laws were not in operation. Sometimes, it seems, the very consideration of the advantages of the colonization movement led

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(47) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Silas Hamilton to Gurley. Adams Co. Miss. December [illegible], 1837.
(48) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Hartman to Gurley, Allen. Va. May [illegible], 1[illegible].
(49) MSS Letters to A.C.S. W. Johnson to [illegible] Randall. Tyler Co. Va. November [illegible], 1838.

directly and immediately to the determination to emigrate, on condition of removal. (50) Sometimes the difficulty arose from the unwillingness to divide families, separating husband and wife, parents and children---one of the most repulsive aspects of the whole repulsive system of slavery.

It would not be practicable, in a study of this nature, to attempt a complete summary of even the most interesting instances of emancipation and transportation to the colony; but it is important to note a sufficient number of such cases. A flood of light is thereby thrown upon the inquiries; What portion of the South furnished the largest number of emancipations to the Society? What portion furnished the largest number of large single emancipations? What provisions were made for the emancipated slaves? What conditions were attached to the acts of emancipation? Did those who sent portions of their slaves to the colony express, after hearing from them, a willingness to send others? Were those emancipated chiefly the old and infirm, or were the emigrants able-bodied, valuable negroes?

Up to and including 1832, among the emancipations with provision for emigration to Liberia, are the following:

A lady from near Charles Town, Va. liberated ten slaves; also two slaves which she purchased because of their relation to her own. For these two she gave $800. They were manumitted

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(50) MSS Letters to A.C.S. . McKenney to A. . . . Crozier, Va. Dec. 1831, L.C. See also MSS Letters to A. . . C. . Andrews to Jacob . Richmond, Va. February 1, 1836. MSS Letters to A.C.S. C.C.Mills or . . . C. Miller. N.Y. April 1 , 1838.

[illegible] [illegible]. (51)

[illegible], a Vice-President [illegible] active [illegible] will liberated [illegible] slaves, [illegible] date from 1830. Upon their conv[illegible] to the colonies --- [illegible] were to [illegible] their freedom [illegible] not [illegible] to go to the Colony--- their passage was to be paid and they were to be given $5, each. (53)

David Shriver, of Maryland, by will emancipated his thirty slaves; Colonel [illegible], of [illegible] County, Virginia, by will emancipated seventy or eighty, leaving a sum $5000 for their transportation and settlement. (55)

Miss Betsy Morris, of Virginia, by will emancipated her sixteen slaves, leaving $[illegible] for their passage to the colony. Sampson David of Tennessee, emancipated, by will, his twenty-two slaves, and Herbert B. Miller, of Petersburg, Virginia, twenty. A Georgian liberated forty-nine, the greater part of his fortune, on a condition that they went to the colony. In North Carolina alone, there had been offered to the Society six hundred and fifty-two slaves. (54)

Mrs. Elizabeth [illegible], of [illegible], provided, by will, for the emancipation of all her slaves --- about forty. Charles Hensley, of Virginia, [illegible] sixty to send them to

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(51) Carey, Mathew; Reflections [illegible] pp. [illegible].
(52) Mss Minutes Board of Direc[illegible] pro. A.C.S. January [illegible], 1848. 74.
(53) Carey, Mathew. Reflections [illegible] **8-9.
See also Am. Repos. II; 29-30
(54) Carey, Mat[illegible]; Reflections [illegible] 9-[illegible].
See also Am. Repos. II; 137. Ibid IV; 185.

Liberia. (58) A Mr. Pum[illegible], of Frederick[illegible], Virginia, emancipated [illegible] negroes, and [illegible] will, provided $1000 to cover their transportation expenses. (56) Another Virginia slaveholder emancipated one hundred and [illegible] slaves. Another, a Methodist minister of Lynchburg, Virginia, emancipated upwards of sixty, leaving several hundred dollars to be applied to their transportation. (57) A Virginia lady emancipated twenty-five, and a slaveholder of Kentucky, sixty. (58) David Bullock, of Virginia, emancipated twenty-three --- the oldest not over forty years. This slaveholder inquires, for the negroes, as to "their expectations when they arrive, as to their immediate support, and their future choice for living, whether they will have land allotted to them, etc." (59)

Among those emancipated after 1832, are the following:

The New Orleans Picayune contains the announcement; "We understand that six hundred negroes, belonging to a gentleman of this city, lately deceased, are to be liberated according to his will, provided they are willing to go to Africa, in which case ample provision is to be made for their transportation." (60) Another slaveholder was willing to emancipate sixty, if funds could be secured with which to transport them to the colony. (61) John McDonough, of New Orleans, was reading, in 1837, [illegible] and eighty

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(55) AF. Repos. I; 191-92.
(56) AF. Repos. II; 317-27.
(57) AF. Repos. III; [illegible].
(58) AF. Repos. IV; 281.
(59) MSS Letters to A. F. . L. Bullock to [illegible], Louisa, Va. September 18, 1831.
(60) AF. Repos. XIV; 81. (Copied from New Orleans Picayune. February 18, 1837)
(61) AF. Repos. XVIII; 96.

or [illegible] --- [illegible] 1[illegible] --- well trained and [illegible] acq[illegible]. [illegible] negroes, [illegible] were adult, [illegible] the rest children from six to twelve years of age. So far was the colonization mode of securing the emancipation of slaves favorably looked upon, even in Louisiana, that a New Orleans paper commented in the most favorable terms upon both the Society, Mr. McDonogh, and his philanthropic scheme of emancipating all his negroes, and upon the condition of the colony as revealed in the letters sent back to persons in the State, from the negroes he had sent out. These letters abounded in expressions of thankfulness and gratitude to their former master for his generosity and liberal treatment of them.

McDonogh had worked out a plan by which the negroes were allowed to earn their own freedom, by using advantageously certain hours and days given them for that purpose by their master. It was one of the most interesting plans ever proposed for the liberation of slaves without actual expense to the owner. McDonogh found that, if the slave used well the time given to him, he could secure his own freedom within fifteen or seventeen years. This freedom he gave to those who were his own property. And although The Liberator and other Abolitionist papers severely criticized the plan, McDonogh was trying to recommend to the Southern slaveholder a plan by which he could rid his country of slavery and at the same time do so without great loss to himself. (62)

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(62) MSS Letters to A.C... ? to McLain. N. Orleans. July 2, 184[illegible]
MSS Letters of A.C... Burke to Dr. [illegible] Goudfit. March 7, 184[illegible]. #637.
Af. Repos. XIX; 4[illegible]-[illegible]; 141-4[illegible].

In 1[illegible], Major Bibb, of Kentucky, sent thirty-two of his slaves to the colony, and the following year he tendered freedom to the remaining forty, on condition that they would emigrate. (63) This year also, Dr. ~~John~~ James Bradly, of Georgia, manumitted about sixty negroes, who emigrated to the Colony. (64)

The following year, Dr. T. L. Miller, of Virginia, emancipated about thirty, who went to the Colony. (65)

In 1834, Dr. John Mer, one of the most prominent colonizationists in the Southwest, wrote asking that sixteen of a considerable number of slaves left free, on condition of their emigration, by James Green, of Mississippi, be allowed passage. "I am authorized to say, "wrote he, "that the [the executors] will pay the whole expence of their emigration, and, agreeably to the will of the Testator, will furnish them with a very handsome outfit, amounting, for those over twelve years old, to from three to five hundred dollars, and somewhat less for the younger ones. *** You will allow me to bespeak for them *** all the attention and favor which may be necessary to their comfortable and eligible establishment in the Colony." (66)

In 1836, Gurley visited Mississippi in the interest of the Society, and his report to the Managers throws an interesting light upon the attitude of that State toward emancipation, and also of the estate of the deceased, James Green, and the purpose

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(63) MSS Letters to A.S.C.S. R.G. Light to Gurley. Cynthiana Ky. June 6, 1835.
(64) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia.
(65) MSS Sketch of the History of Liberia.
(66) MSS Letters to A.S.C.S. Dr. John Mer to Gurley. Natchez. January 10, 1834.

of the [illegible] executor in relation to the remaining slaves. Gurley was forcibly impressed with the liberality and cordiality of the colonizationists of that state. They had contributed $2000 "without my personal application to a single individual, and with my detention hardly for a day." "On Monday, I visited James Railey, Esq. (principal executor of the estate of the late James Green) at his beautiful country seat ***. Its generous proprietor opened to me fully his mind in regard to the estate *** with written and verbal requests that it should be applied to the emancipation and colonization of slaves from Mississippi in Liberia. It will be recollected, that certain slaves emancipated by Mr. Green have been sent to the colony, and Mr. Railey informs me, that their outfit and supplies and passage cost about $7000. The trust might, in the opinion of some, be fulfilled, were $20000 in addition, applied to the benevolent purposes of the testator, but Mr. Railey states that it has been determined to devote $25000 more to the objects of testator's charitable desires." (67)

Alexander Donelson, of Tennessee, died in 1831, emancipating his slaves by will. By the laws of the state, negroes freed within its bounds were compelled to leave or revert to slavery, unless they were by the county court permitted to remain. By decree of that court, Donelson's slaves were allowed to remain in the state until the time of emancipation, if they agreed to start for Liberia by January, 2 W, 1836. The slaves were twenty

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(67) MS Letters to A.B.C.F.M. from Ro. M. Sewall. June 4, 1836.

in number. [illegible] were [illegible], [illegible] were over forty years of age. Donald [illegible] had left them all his personal property, [illegible] in [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] provide themselves [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. They could [illegible] their own passage [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] arrival in the colony. The son of the deceased had, by careful management, increased [illegible] considerably [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]. He had left them together [illegible] the farm, and allowed them to continue their work, and had given them the proceeds of the crop. (68)

In 1837, [illegible] hundred [illegible] slaves owned by Mr. Hawes, of Virginia, were liberated and transported to the colony. (69)

A colonizationist, Mrs. Harrison Murray, Virginia, wrote the Society, in 1856, that a family of thirty slaves had been liberated in their [illegible], [illegible] on their embarking to the colony. Their passage had to be paid, and a sum sufficient for their comfortable set [illegible] was to be given them. Another family, [illegible] seven in number, had been liberated in the adjoining [illegible]. To each of the twenty-seven a legacy of [illegible] was left for the purpose of enabling them to get to either in some free state or in [illegible] country where they might enjoy their liberty. They had [illegible] decided [illegible] Liberia. (70) During the year also, [illegible] slaves, [illegible] William [illegible], Mississippi, emigrated to the colony. (71)

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(68) [illegible] Letter [illegible], Nashville, Tenn. [illegible], [illegible].
(69) [illegible] of Liberia.
(70) [illegible] Letter [illegible] Richmond, Va. Jul. [illegible], 1856.
(71) [illegible] of Liberia.

In [illegible], [illegible] Potts, [illegible] Liberia, [illegible] and sent [illegible] colony [illegible]-nine [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] their [illegible], [illegible] to [illegible]. (72).

In [illegible], [illegible] sent [illegible] society, Mr. [illegible] wrote; "A gentle[illegible] in this district, [illegible] offered [illegible] three labels for emigrants, [illegible] condition [illegible] they were willing [illegible], and we could [illegible] them [illegible]." (73) In the year preceding this, John Kin, of Nar[illegible] [illegible] King, [illegible] [illegible] placed liberated [illegible], to Liberia. John McDowell, [illegible] for the society, in [illegible] [illegible] the sailing [illegible] Mechanic of a number [illegible] emigrants, [illegible] of the [illegible] value, reported, in 1839, that "I expect a family of children probably the forerunner of a large number below into" a certain [illegible], "If he should agree to the terms you may propose to take them out and provide for them six months after their arrival in Africa. ***This is an affair I believe of much importance to the interest of the Society. I do not exactly know how many he contemplates but I am certain they amount to some hundreds; if he makes this and opinion the subject he will send by every expedition some families. He writes to me in perfect confidence and says, "I wish a thing said of it either privately or publicly and [illegible] notice of it in the newspapers****." (74)

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(72) MLS Letters to A.S.C.S. Potts to Fendall. Sussex C.H. Va. October 18, 1838.
MLS Letters to A.S.C.S. Potts to Fendall. Sussex C.H. Va. November 18, 1838.
(73) MLS Letters to A.S.C.S. [illegible] Hankle to Allen, [illegible], [illegible] 5, 1840.
(74) MLS Letters to A.S.C.S. (Volume of Unsigned Letters 1839-1840) Jno. McDowell to Allen. Norfolk, Va. November 18, 1839

In 1[illegible], [illegible]. [illegible], of Virginia, [illegible] emancipated nineteen slaves, on condition of their willingness to go to Africa. For their passage, he appropriated $[illegible]. (75)

In 18[illegible], Isaac C. [illegible], suffered for his sister, to liberate about thirty slaves if they would go to Liberia. The same year, Mrs. Jane McCaun, of Kentucky, left, by will, liberty to fourteen slaves, on condition that they would go to the colony. Each was to be given $[illegible], upon agreement to go, besides being furnished with bedclothes and kitchen furniture. Of these slaves, the oldest was about thirty-five. (76)

Colonel Montgomery Bell, of Tennessee, sent companies of manumitted slaves to the colony at various times. By 1841, he had already sent eighty-odd, and it was his purpose to continue until the whole number -- some two hundred and fifty -- had been transported. (77) Colonel Bell's slaves were very valuable. For a single one of them he had refused $5000, which was offered a short while before the negro embarked for the colony. Bell was merely waiting until the funds of the Society were sufficient to send the rest of the people. (78)

It will already have been observed that many acts of emancipation were incorporated in the wills of slaveholders. This was

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(75) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Ayres to McLain. Spottsylvania, Va. November 7, 1842.
(76) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Dickey, C. [illegible] Tuckins to McLain. Beaufort, S.C. [illegible] December 1, 1842.
MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Rev. [illegible] to Rev. M. McClaeville, Ky. December 7, 1842.
(77) MSS Journal Executive Committee A.C.S. June 22, 1841.
(78) MSS Journal Executive Committee. A.C.S. January [illegible], 1843; December 30, 1844.

a favorite [illegible] of [illegible] liberty to [illegible]. The act of emancipation, [illegible] effected, involved a radical readjustment of the affairs of an estate, and must have had much to do with the [illegible] of this [illegible]. It may be well to consider some notable cases of slaves left free by will --- in addition to those already noted. It will here appear that on a number of occasions, the society aided in the liberty of slaves. In many cases where wills were not instituted the liberty of the slaves was secured, or the possibility of their being set free investigated by agents of the Society. (79) Sometimes they were called threatened or actual attempts to violate the provisions of emancipations contained in wills. (80)

By the will of Dr. Fraser, of Virginia, in 1831, all his negroes, numbering about fifty, were to be allowed to emigrate to the colony. Their expenses were to be paid out of the proceeds of the estate. Those who were unwilling to do were to revert to slavery. (81) They were of all ages, from infants to sixty years.

In 1832, application was made for passage to Liberia for forty-four slaves left free by the will of Thomas Fleming, of Virginia. Most of them were in the prime of life. (82) The same year, General Blackburn, also of Virginia, emancipated by

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(79) MSS Minutes Board of Managers A.C.S. August 21, 1832; April 24, 1836.
(80) MSS Minutes Board of Managers. A.C.S. October 22, 1827.
(81) MSS Letters to A.C.S. E. Jordan to [illegible]. Lexington, Va. February 16, 1831.
(82) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] to [illegible]. New Glasgow, Va. June [illegible], 1832.

will hit [illegible]-six slaves in consideration of their willingness to go to the [illegible] long; the expense of their transportation to be paid out of the proceeds of the estate. (87).

The [illegible] interest in bequeathing slaves to the [illegible] was [illegible] of Capt. R[illegible], of Mississippi. In 1837, Ross made a will bequeathing to his granddaughter, a [illegible] servant, Grace, with all her children --- unless Grace should elect to go to Liberia, in which case she and her children were to be conveyed thither. The granddaughter was desired to maintain comfortably the testator's [illegible] servant, Hannibal and his sisters, Daphne, Lilly, and Rebecca. Hannibal was to receive an annuity of one hundred dollars, and each of his sisters an annuity of fifty dollars. In case they should elect to go to Liberia, there was to be given, in place of the annuities, to Hannibal $500. Enoch, his wife Perilla, and their children were to be sent to some free State where they could be legally manumitted. To Enoch was to be given also $[illegible], unless he and his family should elect to go to Africa, in which case they should be conveyed thither, $100 being paid to him upon his departure. The rest of his slaves and property were to be left to Ross' daughter, Mrs. Margaret Reed, for the rest of her natural life, or until she was disposed to carry out the remaining provisions of his will, in relation to slaves and property. Upon Mrs. Reed's death, or her decision to carry out her father's desires, all of the slaves in the prime of twenty-one years and upwards, have those above referred to, and live where such [illegible] were given, were to be

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(87) MSS letters to M.G. & J.L. [illegible] from [illegible], Va. August 8, 1838.

assembled [illegible] remained, [illegible] were [illegible] in [illegible] the [illegible] will [illegible] to [illegible] whether or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. These [illegible] decided to [illegible] to be sold [illegible] [illegible], with the restriction that families were not to be separated. The proceeds from the sale [illegible] other funds belonging to the testator's estate were, after the payment of expenses, to be paid into the treasury of the Colonization Society, to be applied to the transportation, and maintenance of the slaves who elected to go. The total number of the slaves, when the will was made, was about one hundred and seventy.

Ross was a planter of excellent judgment. The returns from the estate were large. But the Captain, it seems, applied its great revenues to the comfort of his "people". It was estimated that the estate brought in a revenue of some $20,000 a year. Of the slaves, Gurley wrote; "His slaves were kept disconnected from those on other plantations, and therefore constituted one great family of 110 in number, who have been treated more like children than slaves. For industry, intelligence, and good order, [illegible] are their superiors. To render them happy appears to have been the great object of their master." Dr. John Ker, whose name appears so often in any [illegible] of the colonization movement in Mississippi, said of Ross; "His slaves felt, in a high degree, the mutual attachment which is not uncommon in the South between master and slave, and which ought to put to shame the slanders of [illegible] or wicked Northern fanatics. He

and [illegible] provide [illegible] to leave [illegible] happiness after his death."

Rose died in [illegible], and his daughter made a will which was intended to carry out exactly the wishes of her deceased father. By [illegible], however, the provisions of the will were [illegible] seriously contested by certain of the heirs. The latter were able to arouse sentiment in their favor that [illegible] the state, and the matter was carried into the [illegible] legislature, in [illegible] or 1847, where the result was the passage of a bill in the lower house, by which it would have been made unlawful for the slaves to be emancipated even on condition of their removal to the colony. The High Court of Errors and Appeals had already decided favorably to the validity of the will, and the attempt of the legislature was in reality an attempt to annul an already announced decision of that court. [illegible] just at this time rendered the Colonization Society the valuable service of opposing with great energy the passage [illegible] bill when it came up for consideration in the Senate, of which he was a member. By a campaign of published [illegible] of exertion he liberated this slave to build up slaves in slavery. The value of the estate, in 1847, was estimated to be about $20 000, and it was to be used for provisioning the poor and freed slaves in Liberia and in providing educational institutions in the colony. In fact, the total number of slaves who were included in the bill was upwards of 500. It appears that, after years of effort and vigilance, the Society won its point and secured the liberty of the slaves. Not close was in it the sincerity of the position

[illegible] (84)

[illegible] secure a [illegible] act of [illegible], [illegible] provision for a liberal legacy to several of the [illegible] institutions of the state, [illegible] permission to emancipate was granted. The [illegible] were released in [illegible]. A [illegible] was made to the society to transport the slaves, except [illegible] old men [illegible] had contracted, at their request, to keep them. Of the remaining forty-[illegible] [illegible] over [illegible] years of age. The widow of the

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(84) See [illegible] XIII; [illegible]. [illegible] XV; [illegible]. [illegible] XVII; [illegible]. [illegible] XVIII; [illegible].
[illegible] Letters [illegible] to [illegible] Randall. [illegible], [illegible] July 12, [illegible].
[illegible] Letters [illegible] to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].
[illegible] Letters [illegible] to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].
[illegible] Letters [illegible] to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. (85)

In 18[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] for the [illegible] of thirty-five [illegible] William [illegible], of [illegible], by will, [illegible] their freedom on condition that they would go to the colony. Otherwise they were to revert to slavery. (86)

In 18[illegible], William [illegible], of Virginia, left, by will, between twenty and thirty, all of his negroes, on condition that they went to the colony. (87) During this same year, there were two other cases of emancipation in Virginia that should here be noted; James Cox liberated about fifty negroes, on condition that they went to Liberia --- otherwise they were to revert to slavery; (88) and Mrs. Carter, who left free twenty-six, on condition that they go to the colony. (89) In Kentucky, John Graham by will provided that, after 18[illegible], his slaves, fifteen in number, were to have their liberty on condition of their willingness to emigrate to the colony. (90)

In 18[illegible], Thomas [illegible], deceased, left by will fourteen

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(85) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] W. Allen to Gurley. [illegible]. December 19, 18[illegible].
(86) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] Marr to C. [illegible], [illegible], N.C. [illegible], 1857.
(87) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] to [illegible]. New Bern, N.C. April 1[illegible], 18[illegible].
(88) MSS Letters to A.C.S. [illegible] to Wilkeson. Richmond. August 1[illegible], 18[illegible].
(89) MSS Letters to A.C.S. Mr. [illegible] Blackford to Wilkeson. Fredericksburg, Va. [illegible]ber 1[illegible], 18[illegible].
(90) MSS Letters to A.C.S. F. [illegible] to Wilkeson. [illegible], Ky. November 2[illegible], 18[illegible].

slaves [illegible] their [illegible] colony. (91)

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] of the [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]; "[illegible] the old [illegible] slaves [illegible] to [illegible] of [illegible] heir [illegible] to their [illegible]. [illegible] feeble [illegible] --- [illegible] destroy [illegible]. [illegible] will serve [illegible] the colony and [illegible] [illegible]." (92)

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], emancipated by will twenty-one slaves on condition of their emigration to Liberia; and in Virginia, Fredonia [illegible] Pulley emancipated by will the same number, their transportation, outfit, clothing and maintenance in the colony for six months being provided for out of the estate. (93)

One of the most interesting cases of emancipation by will, in 1841, was that of Mr. [illegible], of Virginia. Moore provided for the emancipation of his two hundred slaves in Virginia and one hundred and thirty-six in Mississippi and Alabama. Property sufficient to provide for their transportation was left the Society, and the supervision of the execution of the will was placed directly in Gurley's hands as an executor. Gurley's

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(91) [illegible] letters to R.R. [illegible] Gurley to [illegible] Washington, D.C., [illegible] to [illegible], 1848.
(92) [illegible] letters of R.R. [illegible] Gurley to Rev. [illegible] Boot, December [illegible], 1848. [illegible]
[illegible] letters of R.R. [illegible] Gurley to Rev. [illegible] Boot, December [illegible], 1848, p.542.
(93) [illegible] letters to R.R. [illegible] Gurley from [illegible] Linden-[illegible], [illegible] July [illegible], 1847.
[illegible] letters of R.R. [illegible] Gurley to [illegible] Fredericksburg, Va. December 11, 1848.

[illegible]; "[illegible] such [illegible] emancipation [illegible] that of Mr. [illegible] "the [illegible] of [illegible] emancipation, [illegible] social [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]." [illegible] considerable probability that [illegible] portion of the will dir[illegible] [illegible] of these slaves who were in Louisiana and Alabama would be contested. [illegible] advised, as to these, "to ascertain, as fully as possible, whether it is possible [illegible] institute any [illegible], by which their case can be brought before the courts of the United States. * The executors are solemnly bound to neglect no possible legal means of securing the freedom of these slaves, and for me, I wish any measure, even illegal, adopted." (94)

By will of Mr. Ben Henderson, of Louisiana, his slaves --- five or six hundred in number --- were to be emancipated for the purpose of colonization to the colony. The first ten, chosen by lot, were to go within five years after Henderson's death; after ten years, twenty more were to go; and after twenty-five years the rest. The will was contested but was upheld by the Supreme Court of Louisiana. (95)

Besides these acts of emancipation declared for the colony and these bequests [illegible] of slaves, the records of the society contain many interesting letters of inquiry. Many slave-

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(94) [illegible] Letters [illegible] Mr. Coppinger to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], 1842.
[illegible] Letters [illegible] [illegible] to Melvin. N.Y. [illegible] Oct 12, 1842.
[illegible] " " " " " " " " " [illegible] Nov 7, 1842
(95) New Orleans Commercial Bulletin. [illegible] La, 1843.

A [illegible] in [illegible], Virginia, in 1833; "I [illegible] emancipate [illegible] to Liberia" or; "I have [illegible] determined [illegible] slaves [illegible] afforded them (by the society of which [illegible] is [illegible]) in [illegible] ff to the colony of Liberia, [illegible] and proper [illegible] accommodation." (.) The slaves were [illegible] at $[illegible]. A colonization [illegible] Virginia, reported [illegible] slaves held ready for manumission whenever the first opportunity offered to send them to Liberia. (100)

A citizen of Missouri desired to emancipate his slaves, three of whom he had [illegible] expressed a desire of emancipating them as soon as they had reimbursed him, in labor, the amount expended in their purchase. Already he had executed to them deeds of emancipation, on condition of their willingness to go to the colony. (101)

A [illegible] gentleman offered his thirteen negroes to the society, to be taken to Liberia. "He has long had it in his heart to do this; but he has not been in a way to effect it, and has requested me to [illegible] correspondence with the society. ***Neither the old man [illegible] he can die in peace until it is in all things [illegible] to place their servants in a condition where

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(.) [illegible] Letters [illegible] Mitchell [illegible] Philadelphia. September 10, 1833.

(100) [illegible] Letters [illegible] Dabney Mitchell, Milford, Va., [illegible], 1833.

(101) [illegible] Letters [illegible] Rev. [illegible], Va. [illegible] October 16, 1833.

(102) [illegible] Letters [illegible] Lawson to [illegible], [illegible]. November 28, 1833.

[illegible] there." [illegible]; [illegible]. (102)

[illegible], [illegible], of Virginia, [illegible] for Liberia. [illegible] -western states [illegible] their liberty; [illegible] after a [illegible], [illegible], they [illegible] returned [illegible]. Upon [illegible] for [illegible], [illegible] 5 [illegible] towards [illegible]. (103)

[illegible] spirit, [illegible] of Virginia, was [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] her care [illegible]; "Give [illegible] outfit [illegible] as [illegible] I can do [illegible] in [illegible] times. My brother writes [illegible] he is very [illegible] in learning any trade [illegible] to learn the carpenter's trade [illegible], [illegible], I fear if I [illegible] him here for the purpose, something [illegible] occur to [illegible] his [illegible]..."** [illegible] heart is greatly set on this plan. [illegible] during the [illegible]; [illegible] I should feel a heavy responsibility on me." (104)

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(102) [illegible] S Letters [illegible] Charleston, [illegible] April [illegible], 1847.

(103) Af. Repos. XIX; [illegible].

(104) [illegible] Letter [illegible] to [illegible]. Fredericksburg, Va. [illegible].

[illegible] the loss [illegible] resc[illegible] [illegible]." --- [illegible] referred [illegible] desired to [illegible]. (1[illegible])

[illegible] D. [illegible] friend [illegible] for six [illegible], [illegible] case; " [illegible] [illegible] these [illegible], [illegible] civil [illegible], and I [illegible] over to [illegible] necessary [illegible]. [illegible] judge slave-holders [illegible], [illegible] I [illegible] honest, [illegible]-denial, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. In Virginia [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]tified as [illegible]." (1[illegible])

(1[illegible]) MSS Letters [illegible] J. [illegible] Hardsvill[illegible] [illegible].

(1[illegible]) [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] 18 [illegible] ss [illegible] Crawford [illegible] Vi[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible] retail [illegible] ... In [illegible] ... in [illegible] ... There [illegible] ... colored [illegible] ... (10[illegible])

[illegible] ... before [illegible] the latter part of the [illegible], there were 475 negroes who had applied [illegible] the colony. [illegible], were [illegible] those [illegible], [illegible] the end of January. (1[illegible])

[illegible] ... the [illegible] ... emigration, but [illegible] ... If [illegible] had [illegible] ... could have [illegible] ... could have [illegible]; [illegible] in- [illegible] organize [illegible] number of slaves [illegible] ...

(10[illegible]) [illegible] ... [illegible] BSS [illegible] ... December [illegible], [illegible]; etc.

(1[illegible]) [illegible] J[illegible] ... [illegible]

[illegible]

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(110) "A Devil's Pact" --- [illegible]
(111) [illegible]
(112) [illegible]

[illegible]

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(112) [illegible] Three [illegible] Dan[illegible], [illegible]

(113) [illegible] - Century [illegible] A.D. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tables.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 28	7a.	[illegible]	1a	
1[illegible]	7a.	Dar[illegible]	[illegible]	([illegible])
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	10	(a[illegible])
"	[illegible]	Dav[illegible]	11	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	?	[illegible]	20	
1[illegible]	7a.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	7	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	30	(a[illegible])
"	"	[illegible]	18	(a[illegible])
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	Ve[illegible]	[illegible]	22	
"	6.	[illegible]	[illegible]	
1[illegible]	7a.	[illegible]	10	
"	"	[illegible]	110	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	(approx[illegible])
"	"	[illegible]	27	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	8	
"	"	[illegible]	8	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	2.6.	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	?	[illegible]	1	
1[illegible]	7a.	[illegible]	17	
"	"	"	8	
"	"	"	[illegible]	
"	"	"	[illegible]	(a[illegible])
"	[illegible]	"	[illegible]	(a[illegible])
"	26.	"	17	
1[illegible]	Ve[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	Edward Cochlon	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	(a[illegible] not [illegible])
1[illegible]	Ve.	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	?	(a[illegible])
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	15	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	7	
	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	"	[illegible]	2	
	"	[illegible]	2	
"	"	[illegible]	2	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	7	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	1	
"	"	[illegible]	4	
"	"	[illegible]	2	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	1	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	1	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	32	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	30	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	12	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	22	
"	?	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	?	[illegible]	30	
"	?	[illegible]	12	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	1	
"	"	[illegible]	71	
"	"	[illegible]	13	
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	"	[illegible]	3	
"	Mi.	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	
"	"	[illegible]	2	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
1852	Va.	[illegible]	3	
"	"	[illegible]	7	
"	"	[illegible]	3	
"	"	[illegible]	13	
"	"	[illegible]	13	
"	"	[illegible]	1	
"	"	[illegible]	13	
"	"	[illegible]	11	
"	"	[illegible]	17	(illegible)
"	"	[illegible]	13	

1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
"	N.C.	J[illegible]	14
"	"	[illegible]	7
"	"	[illegible]	4
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	11
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	7[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	6
1[illegible]	[illegible]	Dr. [illegible]	10[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	2
"	"	[illegible]	2
"	"	[illegible]	2
"	"	[illegible]	9
"	[illegible]	[illegible] Jones	13
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	12
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	7
"	"	[illegible]	5
"	"	[illegible]	4
"	"	[illegible]	3
"	"	[illegible]	2
"	"	[illegible] Todd	4
"	"	[illegible]	3
"	"	Rev. [illegible] Blackburn	2
"	"	[illegible]	2
"	"	Dr. [illegible] Roberts	1
"	"	[illegible]	1
"	"	[illegible]	1
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	10
"	"	Dr. [illegible]	1
"	"	[illegible]	1
"	[illegible]	Rev. [illegible]	14
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Cleaveland	?
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	4
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	1[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	25
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	23
"	"	[illegible]	7
"	"	[illegible]	1
"	"	[illegible]	30
"	"	[illegible]	30
"	"	[illegible]	5
"	"	[illegible]	?? (several)
"	"	[illegible]	16
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	? (several)
"	"	[illegible]	25
"	L.S.	[illegible]	1
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	31
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	"	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"

2 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The American Colonization [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] s [illegible] [illegible] African [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] itself to [illegible] [illegible]. (1) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] the [illegible] leader, Charles [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] Anti-Slave Trade Act of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. (2) [illegible] [illegible], African [illegible] [illegible] captured [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] of the [illegible] -captur[illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], who [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]-turned [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] ov[illegible] [illegible]-

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(1) [illegible]. [illegible]; [illegible]-[illegible]

(2) [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]; [illegible].

[illegible] territory [illegible]

[illegible] Desert. [illegible] (3)

[illegible] kind." ( ) [illegible] provision [illegible] by civilized powers, [illegible] limited. ( )

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(3) [illegible] Proceedings [illegible] I; 88-89.

(4) [illegible] XVIII; [illegible] I; [illegible]

(5) [illegible] XVIII; [illegible] I; 12[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(6) [illegible]
(7) [illegible]

[illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible] (1)

[illegible] indeed, [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible] jurisdiction. Rev. Leonard [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], declared [illegible] "literally consecrated to the devil" and [illegible] [illegible] (1)

[illegible]

( ) [illegible]
(1) [illegible]
(1a, [illegible], Rev. [illegible]; [illegible] Rev. [illegible]

[illegible] coast
[illegible] a. [illegible]
[illegible] Secretary of the
Navy [illegible]. (11)
[illegible] er,
[illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] African [illegible] -
[illegible], [illegible] within the
[illegible], from [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible] in [illegible] on the African Coast
[illegible] -- [illegible] her [illegible] on [illegible]
[illegible]." (12)

During the years 18[illegible]-59, the Society [illegible] bring
to [illegible] its [illegible] most [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible] officers [illegible], [illegible],
[illegible] opposition of [illegible], [illegible]
its [illegible] efforts toward the abolition of the slave trade; and
in 18[illegible], the General [illegible] increase in the
number of African victims [illegible] of
[illegible]. The [illegible] trade had involved the
[illegible] in [illegible] of the
[illegible], and [illegible] the matter before the Secretary of
the Navy. (13)

[illegible] the [illegible], 18[illegible], there were [illegible]

---

(11) [illegible] Board of [illegible] A.C.S. [illegible], 1[illegible].
(12) [illegible] A.C.S. [illegible]. MSS. [illegible],
1859.
(13) [illegible] letter [illegible] A.C.S. [illegible] Secretary [illegible].
February [illegible], 1859.

[illegible]

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(14) [illegible] Journal [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible]

(1.) [illegible] . XVII; [illegible] -47.
(10) [illegible] . XV; [illegible] .

bundant

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(24) [illegible]
(25) [illegible]
(26) [illegible]
(27) [illegible]

on

(*) [illegible]
(**) [illegible]

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(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible]

(1.1) [illegible]

(1.2) [illegible]

to

sent

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(22) [illegible]

(23) [illegible]

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(38) Hart, L. B.: Law and Evolution, etc.

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